

Augusta Historical Bulletin

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AUGUSTA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Folklore of Augusta County and Its Offspring

by John L. Heatwole

Presentation delivered at the Augusta County Historical Society Banquet held at Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church, Fishersville, Va., March 1999.

It has been said that in order for a people to have an identity they have to possess a knowledge of their history. Folklore, the stories of people if you will, is an important component of history. When folkloric traditions are forgotten, the color of history is lost and the uniqueness of a region becomes homogenized. When blood and life's breath are missing, all that is left are dry statistics that only tell a part of a story.

Folklore is a soft form of history, personal and at the same time communal, seldom found with hard edges. In its various shapes it was meant to enlighten or entertain, to be shared and put away for a rainy day.

Every era, every century, every region and every small community has its own folklore, turning over with the passing years, always changing. This is nowhere more evident than in the lands west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Even if traditions were born in another place and were brought into a new area on the tide of immigration, they often developed a distinctive American quality.

The history of Augusta County, Virginia, and of the counties which were once a part of greater Augusta, is rich and diverse. Folklore gives it life and a fuller understanding of our ancestors' place within the fabric as a whole. When you get past all of the records and enumerations faithfully noted in courthouse archives and in family genealogies you can seek out the tales, customs, superstitions, and rituals important to the lives of our forbears. They were of so much importance, that they were conveyed, along with property and possessions, from one generation to the next.

The Scots-Irish, German-Swiss, English and Africans who came to western Virginia brought with them traditions of their home countries, sometimes already handed down over several generations in this hemisphere. For those settlers who came into the Shenandoah Valley from communities in Pennsylvania certain folk beliefs had already begun to blend between different ethnic groups.

Witch lore was common in all groups from the time of earliest settlement on into the mid-twentieth century in western Virginia. People who settled on the edge of the wilderness had to have answers to inexplicable events and the church said witches were responsible for many evils. While harsh punishments were meted out to suspected witches in seventeenth century New England, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live - Exodus 22:18," in Pennsylvania William Penn took a more tolerant position. When questioned if he would initiate a law against witches in his colony Penn answered that he would not forbid anyone from flying around on a broomstick if they so desired. Because he made light of witches the fear of

their machinations was softened, though the belief continued and was eventually brought into the Valley.

In the Virginia Colony itself, after a flirtation with Puritanism, the established church took the position that if the question of witchcraft was ignored it would not grip the imaginations of the populace as it had in New England. The few trials in Virginia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries concerning witches were slander cases with the suspected witches bringing the cases before the courts; the plaintiffs were always victorious.

So, the climate for witch lore to flourish, especially in western Virginia, was set. People could play to the belief without the fear of retribution from the society as a whole. Who were these witches? They were mostly women who had physical characteristics that made others uneasy or those who were not able to rein in their independent thinking in a male dominated society. People who had powers to cure illnesses with herbs, poultices and incantations were also suspect. Some women realizing others feared them, rightly or wrongly, used that fear to advantage. Who would deny a person a little sugar, flour or some eggs if they thought that individual had the power to do harm?

Men who practiced the dark arts were also called witches, and in some areas of western Virginia warlocks or wizards. Commonly, they were thought to be men who had been brought up in the healing arts and for whatever reasons had begun to use those gifts for evil purposes.

The waters of Seawright Spring in north-central Augusta County held a special place in witch lore for a number of years. It was said that witches gathered there every Friday morning at one o'clock a.m. and danced around the walled-in spring. Often during the dance barrels would rise from graves on a nearby hill and roll down to break against the spring wall. Headless spirits would emerge and join in the dance. There was also a tradition that anyone who could summon the courage to bathe in the spring while the dance was in progress would become immortal, and the first person to drink from the waters the following morning would receive the gift of a long life and would be able to foresee the future.

In the nineteenth century, on a farm not far from Seawright Spring, there lived a woman named Catherine Wine who was concerned about witches hexing her churn so butter would not come. This was a common fear across the region. Some people put a hot wedge or horseshoe into the cream in the churn and this was thought to negate the witch's power. It was an ancient belief brought from the Old World that witches had an aversion to iron. In one community the cream was poured into a trough first and whipped with a branch to drive the witch away.

Catherine Wine would put a number of needles into her churn before she began to make butter. Once the butter was made Catherine's granddaughter, Annie Hill, would help her to paddle the fresh butter into firkins, counting and removing the needles as they did so.

Another of Catherine's fears was that witches would enter her barn through the corners on Halloween and bedevil the livestock. On the afternoon of All Hallows Eve she would witch-proof the barn. Catherine would place a ladder against each corner of the barn in turn, climb the ladder with a brush and grease bucket, and grease the corners from top to bottom. Her husband Samuel would watch

and shake his head in disbelief, but Catherine was steadfast. She thought that when darkness came the witches would begin to fly around on their broomsticks. When they zeroed-in on her barn and flew toward the corners they were in for a big surprise. As the witches hit the corners the grease deflected them off into the atmosphere and the animals were saved.

On a farm near Craigsville a family had a different problem; their cow started to give bloody milk. A local man, a witch doctor, was called in, examined the beast and announced it had been hexed by a witch. He instructed the family in how to break the hex and identify the witch.

He told them to boil a pot of water and put a handful of needles into it. They were then to throw the water and needles into the cow's face; it would not hurt the cow, but would initiate the desired outcome. The people did as directed and within a few days the milk had cleared. Soon after this an old man emerged from a nearby hollow and glared as he walked past the farm and out of sight. He had the marks of pin pricks all over his face.

This story was told to the author by a fifth grade student at Craigsville Elementary School in 1995. It had been a part of his family's lore for many years.

One more witch story: Once a witch named Millie lived in Propst Gap in Pendleton County, West Virginia. She was suspected of hexing cows, churns and babies so people treated her pretty nice "to be on the safe side." If the suspicions were not enough, what happened on a day in 1925 sealed Millie's reputation as a witch. Ten-year-old Floyd Propst was going down the road toward Millie's house one afternoon. As he drew near he saw her sitting on the porch. With a long stick she was tapping something on the porch floor in front of her. When Floyd got close he saw that she was tapping a toad and each time she tapped it the reptile would lay eggs. The boy kept moving and did not even wish her a good day.

Other powers were used for the good of communities. There were healers who specialized in various cures using incantations or rituals, or both. Some powers were passed down through families, female to male, male to female, almost always to a member of the opposite sex. To do otherwise would dilute the strength of the cure.

In German-Swiss areas the ability to effect these types of cures was called Brauche (Braw-ka) which meant "the custom." Every ethnic community practiced some form of "the custom." Many cure incantations have a direct tie to Christian beliefs, while others have a lineage that can be traced to pagan times.

If a person had a wound or a nosebleed that would not stop flowing Ezekiel 16:6 could be invoked:

*And as I passed by thee and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live;
Yea, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live.*

This bible quote was used all over the Shenandoah Valley and in the north-eastern counties of West Virginia. The "blood doctor" would mumble the verse under his or her breath while touching the affected area or while holding a hand just above the spot. Many people, still living in the end of the twentieth century, have reported seeing a flowing wound stop instantly when the "high words," as they were known, were softly spoken.

One woman even told me she had stopped nosebleeds over the phone. I have been fortunate enough to have recorded several different incantations that

were used to take the pain, or fire, out of severe burns. In an age when so many things were done around the fireplace, cast iron stove, cooking or washing kettle, is it any wonder there were many degrees of burns to see to?

An incantation which was used in Augusta, Rockingham and Highland counties was:

*Three little angels
came down from Heaven in fire
and went back in frost*

These words would have been mumbled softly as the practitioner breathed on the seared area.

Near New Hope, Sally Ritchie, the daughter of Civil War veteran James Polk Knox Ritchie, could take the fire out of a burn. She used:

*God's word is good,
God's word is true,
God's word won't lie,
God's word will never die.*

The next line: "Father, Son and Holy Ghost" was then repeated three times.

A "burn doctor" still practicing near Harriston in eastern Augusta County learned her incantation from her father, who had it passed to him from his mother. The following is said "very quietly":

*Fire won't burn, [blow once on the injury]
Water won't quench, [blow once on the injury]
God's word never fails. [blow twice]*

This particular "burn doctor" related she had used the incantation with success a couple of hundred times, and that people had to believe in order for it to work.

Another woman who lived near Staunton in the early twentieth century was known for "talkin' the fire out. No hand wavin', just talkin' breath." She would speak the following words close to the burn, letting her breath gently caress the area:

*Sun is warm,
Moon is cold.*

Simple and direct and connected to the elements instead of religion.

In several Valley counties it was once believed when a woman married, if her surname did not change, she would gain the power to cure sick children with bread she had baked. One man remembered "that his mother was often called on for a piece of bread for such purpose."

Wart cures have perhaps the greatest number of individual rituals. I have been able to find only one where an incantation was preserved.

When interviewing an older woman living in the southern Bluegrass Valley of Highland County she said:

I had a little wart on my face. When a new moon was comin' up I went outside. Without looking I had to bend down and pick up something off the ground; you had to be careful. It might have been a pebble or a stick. I rubbed the object on the wart while looking at the moon, while saying; 'New moon, true moon, tell unto me. What will take this wart away?'

The object was then put back in the place where it had originally rested, and the cure would commence.

A "wart doctor" named Rebecca Jane Kiracofe who lived in northwestern Augusta County would rub a bean on a patient's wart. She would then wrap the bean in brown paper, and tie it up with a string. The patient would take the little package home and put it under a downspout. When the bean rotted away the wart would disappear. Burying or putting a ritual object under a downspout or the "dreep" of a roof was an old Scots-Irish custom. Rebecca Jane would also "buy" warts from children. She would give the child a penny for each wart they had and within a week or so they would be gone; the money and the warts. Maybe the length of the cure depended on how long the child could resist spending the newly gained wealth.

In Rockbridge County, Virginia a wart cure involved cutting a raw onion in quarters. The wart would then be pricked or scratched until it bled. Each quarter of the onion was then dabbed in the blood and the pieces were then buried in the "dreep" of a roof. When the next rains came the wart would disappear. In case you did not know, "dreep" is the Scots-Irish inflection of the English word "drip."

Some people believed fat meat rubbed on a wart and placed under a downspout would soon cause a wart to vanish. Others thought that a just severed, and still warm, chicken's foot rubbed on the wart and buried in the side of a hill would effect a cure.

And still others had faith that if you tied a knot in a length of string for each wart you had and then buried the string under a rock your affliction was well on the way to being remedied. A paramount concern in all families was that children be hearty to withstand the diseases which sometimes invaded rural communities. If a child seemed "undergrown" there were a number of rituals which could be performed to help the child to a more robust constitution. As an example, this one was gathered in the Old Order Mennonite community near Clover Hill in Rockingham County. It occurred around the year 1900. A couple was concerned that their six-year-old daughter was not growing at a rate commensurate with her age so they pierced her earlobes and put a small length of broomstraw through each hole, feeling this would cause her to have a growth spurt.

There were so-called "magic cures" for almost any condition the people of the back-country might have been burdened with. These conditions included goiters, styes, fingernail infections, whooping cough, chapped lips, rheumatism, mumps and asthma. Perhaps the most intriguing use of a "magic cure" in Augusta County occurred near the village of Deerfield sometime near the middle of the nineteenth century.

Mrs. Elizabeth Gwin developed a dreadful skin cancer and journeyed to Staunton to consult Dr. J. Alexander Waddell. Following the examination the doctor told Mrs. Gwin her condition was life threatening. He told her to go home and appointed a day when he would come to Deerfield to perform the needed surgery.

Before that day arrived an old man, a stranger, came along the road from Brushy Ridge and was informed about Mrs. Gwin's condition by one of her neighbors. He asked to be taken to her. In the Gwin house he examined the cancer and Mrs. Gwin her he could cure it with a ritual. She was willing to try anything and told him to go ahead.

Removing a rag from his pocket he gently whisked it over the discolored and misshapen skin. While doing this he intoned an incantation under his breath, so low that no one in the room could catch it. He then took a coin from his pocket and wrapped it in the rag. Leaving the house without saying another word, he took the rag and the coin and buried them under an apple tree in the yard and then went immediately on his way, never to be seen again.

Within the next day or so Mrs. Gwin's skin eruptions began to look as if they were healing. A couple of days later they looked as if they were healed almost completely. When Dr. Waddell arrived he was astonished at what he found and decided to forego the operation until the obvious healing took its course. Eventually, the cancer disappeared entirely and Mrs. Gwin lived on for many years.

The apple tree under which the coin and rag were buried blossomed every year and apples would begin to form. They would get no larger than the end of your thumb before they would wither, turn black, and fall to the ground.

Did these ritual and incantation cures really work? Many people thought so, and as an Old Order Mennonite minister once told me; "Batt's net, shatt's net, (can't help, can't hurt)." For people who lived in the back country the "magic cures" by custom were enough, especially if there were no alternatives close at hand.

And there were other cures, old cures, tested by time. From western Augusta County; peel the bark off of elm roots, boil the bark in water. Then put the water in jars and save.

When someone had a sore throat or a cough they would gargle with the liquid. On the Bullpasture River in Highland County an African-American woman early in this century used pipsissewa herb tea for colds, and birch and sassafras teas as tonics. As far as the tonics were concerned, people believed blood got sluggish during the winter months and needed a tonic to get it moving along in the spring when chores became more demanding.

On Dry River in Rockingham County if you wanted to safeguard a person for life from being bitten by fleas you rolled them in a hog trough when they were small. In Pendleton County, West Virginia, it was believed that red clover tea was good for measles. Until the measles "popped out" the afflicted person would suffer greatly. With red clover tea it was said that after swallowing it would be "a matter of minutes and the measles would pop out."

In neighboring Rockingham County, and in other western Virginia counties, some folks used another tea for measles; sheep manure tea, strained well and sometimes with a little moonshine in it to help it go down. In a couple of interviews the informants assured me, from personal experience, that this was a surefire cure. Near Keezletown in Rockingham County fried mice would be fed to children to ward off whooping cough.

People in the Salem Church area of Augusta County used the bark of the cherry tree in a tea to treat colds. It had to be gathered in a highly specific manner. The bark had to be chopped in an upward motion. If you chopped it with a down stroke and made tea from it you could cause the cold to go down into your lungs resulting in pneumonia. Near Cross Keys in Rockingham County eel oil, warmed in a teaspoon and poured into the ear, was believed to cure deafness. In the same area neuralgia in the wrist, or a toothache, could be relieved by binding freshly grated horseradish next to the afflicted area.

Superstitions were also a part of the fabric of the lives of some people west

of the Blue Ridge. They have been described by some social historians as the fragments of ceremonies of long dead religions. A black cat crossing one's path is an almost universal symbol of bad luck. In Rockingham County you could cancel the bad luck if you immediately "Xed it out" by making that mark with your foot in the dust of the path.

From New Hope in Augusta County comes a unique modern day black cat observance. If you are driving a car and a black cat crosses the road in front of you, you have to "X it out" on the inside of the windshield with your finger. If you are wearing a hat you have to spit in it and toss it in the back seat.

In Highland County, and in almost all of the area comprising the early American frontier in Virginia, it was believed if a bird flew into your house a death would soon follow. African-Americans living in Staunton once believed that if you heard a woodpecker working on a tree outside of your house someone would soon be driving coffin nails for a member of the family.

In Rockbridge County it was thought if you ever wished to marry you should never look under a bed. In a Rockingham County black family it was believed that if you swept around a person with a broom they would never marry. Near Sangerville in Augusta County it was accepted as fact that if a pregnant woman cleaned a floor on her hands and knees and crawled under a table and around a leg the umbilical cord would wrap around the unborn baby's neck.

Ginny Life, a blood and witch doctor, who lived near McGaheysville in Rockingham County, used to say, "Sew on Sunday; pick it out on Monday," meaning no good would come of sewing or working on the Lord's Day. Janet Downs of Goods Mill in the same county goes Ginny Life one better with a saying which has been preserved in her family: "If you crochet or sew on Sunday, you'll pick those stitches out on Judgement Day with your nose." If a girl of Staunton or Augusta County found "the hem of her skirt or dress flipped up and kissed it before saying anything to anyone she would soon get a new skirt or dress."

Dr. M. Ellsworth Kyger of Rockingham County, a mentor of mine and one of the pioneers in preserving the folklore and folkways of the Valley, remembered this family superstition: To bring a long handled tool into the house meant bad luck. It could be considered a grave digging tool and might hasten the death of someone in the house. There was an antidote if you realized your mistake. You could cancel the harm by walking backwards to the door you had entered the house by. While standing in the doorway you would then make a cross sign with your foot on the threshold and exit the building.

There are literally hundreds of superstitions which were of concern to our forebears having to do with birth, death, courting, marriage, weather, business, and divining the future. Some were personal and may have been observed by one individual alone. Harvey Painter of Rockingham County, for whatever reason, believed it meant bad luck if he combed his hair after supper.

Some old farming traditions would be considered superstitions today, but many were still believed and observed up until recent years. People were once firm believers in planting by the signs, or in the phases of the moon. One informant in western Rockingham County told me, "never plant in the sign of the Posey Woman [Virgo]; all you get is blooms." She also said, "Plant in the sign of the Twins [Gemini] and you'll get a whole bunch of cucumbers, or beans, or anything you planted that you wanted." A man in the same area said, "I don't believe

in all this planting in the signs. I just plant in the ground."

According to an old Augusta County farmer you should plant your root crops in the dark of the moon, the "down sign." He also believed manure should be spread in the dark of the moon "so it will go down in the ground." Above ground crops should be planted when the moon is full, in the "up sign." If you made a mistake and planted onions, or potatoes in the "up sign," you could not hoe enough dirt to keep them covered. One evening a woman realized she had planted her rows of beans in the wrong sign and dug them all up the next day.

Working with wood around a farm in the phases of the crescent moon was done judiciously. When the points of the moon were pointing up it was said to be "ruling up." If the points were fixed downward it was "ruling down." When interviewing a retired farmer in Highland County he said; "Won't put a fence post in the ground when the moon is ruling up, 'cause it won't stay; it really won't." Roof shingles cut and put on a building when the points of the moon are up will cup, hold water and rot before much time has passed. If the job is done when the points are down the shingles will lay flat and shed water. The old Highland County farmer related; "If you lay a board on the ground when the moon is ruling up it will cup so much that the grass will still grow under it. If you lay a board on the ground when the moon is ruling down, that board will sink into the ground; I've seen it . . . kills everything under it."

Folkways are also a category in folklore studies. Exploring the everyday lives of those who occupied the land before us adds more fully to our understanding of the cultures which formed us. Stories about gathering berries in the mountains or along country fence rows are a part of the lore in almost every Valley family. This is especially true when the subject is huckleberries. If you have ever eaten a huckleberry, you will never look at a blueberry again. The huckleberry was king and people purposely burned off sections of mountain land to insure a good bed for the huckleberry the next season. Depending on the weather, the berries would be ripe in early July or as late as mid-August.

Ray Eagle, who lives on the side of Jack Mountain in Highland County said that a shower of rain that would come about halfway down a mountain, "enough to give the huckleberries a drink," was called "a huckleberry shower." He also remembered; "Sometimes we could gather huckleberries by the sugar bucket full."

Children in the Port Republic area of Rockingham County were so fond of the fruit they had a chant they would sing out as they ran barefooted along the dirt roads:

*H U huckle, B U buckle,
Huckleberry pie!*

One woman remembered: "We made a kind of huckleberry pie. Made good pie dough and cooked a crust and then filled it with raw berries. Mixed in fresh Jersey cow whipped cream and Momma made pretty designs with a fork." In 1889 a 75 year-old man named Samuel Payne, who lived near Greenville in Augusta County, demonstrated his fondness for huckleberries. He "walked five miles to the mountain and gathered half a bushel of huckleberries and got home by 3 o'clock."

"Pap" Alvie Hartman of western Rockingham County was a great believer in gathering and using wild foods. In the summer he would walk from his home and go up into Hopkins Gap to pick huckleberries. He dearly loved huckleber-

ries and proved it every time he ventured into the berry thickets. "Pap" Alvie was deathly afraid of rattlesnakes and copperheads often encountered in berry patches, so much so that he would wear stovepipe lengths on his lower legs for protection.

Not only were the seasonal berries a good source of income when shipped to Alexandria, Philadelphia and Baltimore, they were also good for barter. The Staunton Vindicator of July 29, 1887 noted the following: "The whortleberry crop is a fine one this year. Guess some of the mountaineers can join the matrimonial hand now and give the long-tailed-coat man a basket of berries for his services."

One character who lived in Staunton in the nineteenth century was named Peter Independence Kurtz. He "was a bell ringer for auctioneers and called out on the street corners about the great bargains to be had at the auctions." At times Peter also sold the Staunton Vindicator on the street corners. For a time he issued his own "little gossip rag" called "Catamount and Funny Boy. Peter Independence Kurtz also knew the value of berries. During the Civil War he issued his own privately issued currency. The text on the bills read: "Six months after the radification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States, the undersigned will pay to the bearer 50 cents in blackberries."

There were other favorite foods which stuck in the memory. One man from Singers Glen in Rockingham County remembered; "Our favorite snack after school was to spread apple butter over a piece of bread and then pour milk over it. Sometimes the apple butter would get real firm in the crocks and we would have to slice it because it wouldn't spread. We'd cut a slice of the apple butter as thick as the bread, and pour the milk over it."

A woman in Highland County once related how the apple butter was made in her area. She said; "We made apple butter in a big kettle. We didn't use sugar, but mixed sweet and tart apples. We put coins, copper ones, into the kettle to keep the butter from sticking to the sides when it was being cooked. The kettle was set up in a shed with an opening in the roof for smoke. Mrs. Wolfe did most of the stirring as she sat in a chair in the doorway. She was the oldest person there and she wouldn't let it stick. She was the head stirrer. They wouldn't let the women who smoked pipes stir because they didn't want ashes in the apple butter."

Some foods we do not often hear of any more, and are difficult to imagine. Pig's foot jelly is one of these: After butchering take the pig's feet - singe the hair off and remove the toenails. Boil them in a big iron pot. When the liquid gelatin is on the top, skim it from the pot and "set it off 'til it's solid like." Empty out the pot, put the firm gelatin back in and boil it again, adding a little nutmeg or cinnamon to taste. Let it set up again and it is ready for the table. "Put ice cream on it or sugar and cream, or eat just plain." People in local rural areas really seemed to enjoy this particular treat.

Other things were impossible to develop a taste for. One man remembered that as a boy he helped to drive cattle from Pocahontas County, through Highland County to the train depot at Bridgewater in Rockingham County. As the drove came through Highland County it would stop for the night at Palo Alto before crossing the mountain. At the drovers' stop they had contracted with a local woman to feed the hands. Invariably she served them mutton broth for their supper. It was never forgotten that there was always a little wool floating around in the broth.

There are many stories of harvest parties that have been preserved in the

Upper Shenandoah Valley. In many cases these were times where people came together to help each other out, to visit, catch up on the news, to court, and to just have a good time. Swanker pies were made to feed the corn cutting and threshing machine crews in the fall. A good sized pan was covered with dough; blackberries, dewberries, cherries or apples were put in, then some pieces of butter. Dough was left hanging over the side of the pan, enough to fold over the top of the pie. As one informant remembered; "This was a big pie!" And this was not all; a woman of the Bullpasture Valley in Highland County recalled; "We shaved brown sugar into cream in a pitcher and poured it over Swanker pie or any kind of pie; best eatin' in the world!" Swanker is a corruption of the Pennsylvania-German word Schwanger, which means pregnant. So this huge pie made for harvest hands was humorously referred to as pregnant pie by our German-Swiss ancestors.

At corn husking time all of the neighbors in the Bluegrass Valley of Highland County would go from farm to farm to help in that labor intensive chore. Some would bring their fiddles, guitars and banjos and would play while the others shucked and sang along to well known tunes. A stanza remembered from one song gives us a wonderful flavor of the times:

*McDonald had an old gray mule and he drove him around in a cart,
He loved that mule and that mule loved him, with all his mulish heart.*

Another aspect of the corn husking party in the Bluegrass Valley was the hunt for the red ear of corn. If you found a red ear of corn you could kiss anyone you wanted to at the party. Some farmers would plant enough red corn so it would get around, from year to year, that his husking was a particularly good one to attend. One person remembered; "Everybody threw a few red ears in the bucket when planting, so you'd get red ears."

I once asked an elderly lady in Highland County if she did a lot of kissing at the husking parties and she replied, "Oh, no, me and my girlfriends were sour on kissin'; all of those boys chewed tobacco!"

I would like to conclude my talk with a few brief tales about real people who lived here in Augusta County, followed by a few old sayings and proverbs known in the county in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Sadie was a champion snuff spitter. It was said she would sit working at her loom on the second floor of the loomhouse on her place near Sangerville. Because she dipped snuff, every once in awhile she would have to lean to the side and spit. She had great trajectory control. The spit would go down the stairs, around the corner, around the woodstove and into a can behind it. As is the case with most stories of this type the informant swore it was true and was backed up in this assertion by the testimony of another individual.

Before the Civil War there was a man who lived about five miles north of Staunton. He had an extensive farm, but was more well known for his distillery and the fine whisky made there. A man-servant, named Uncle York, was the one who ran the day-to-day operations at the distillery. The owner of the farm was always out working in his fields and this was where prospective whisky purchasers would look for him. The customer would tell the man how much whisky he wanted and would hand over the money. The farmer would then pick up a pretty good sized stone from the field he was working in, make a mark on it, and hand it to the buyer to take to Uncle York at the distillery.

The buyer, lugging the stone, would hand it over to Uncle York, who would decipher the marks and give the man the number of jugs he had paid for. Enough stones were cleared from the fields by this means that Uncle York was able to build a stone wall at the distillery where it was needed. "Doubtless the customers of the old gentlemen often objected to the style of orders he issued and to carrying them, but it was the only way they could get the fire-water. Some of the stones weighed as much as 50 to 75 pounds each."

The wall that resulted from the ingenuity of the farmer was known for years in the neighborhood as "Uncle York's order file."

Many stories passed down through the generations have an almost mythical twist, but can be verified. Captain James Bumgartner, Jr. served in Augusta County's 52nd Virginia Infantry from the very beginning, to the bitter end of the Civil War. He was in the vortex of many of the bloodiest battles fought by the Army of Northern Virginia and incredibly came through without a scratch. He was captured at the battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864 and was sent to the prison at Fort Delaware. When the war ended he was released and made his way home.

As he walked up the lane of his parents' home, his mother saw him and came down from the porch to meet him. They embraced each other in joyous reunion. But suddenly, Mrs. Bumgartner pushed her son away and told him he smelled awful. She instructed him to go immediately down to the spring branch and take a bath. He did as he was told, stripped down and waded out into the water. As this unscathed veteran of 50 battles and engagements prepared for his bath he slipped on a mossy stone, lost his balance, fell, and broke his arm.

The sayings and proverbs of our forebears indicate a highly developed sense of humor and an understanding of human nature. Here are a few that once were a part of the everyday life in Augusta County:

If you would know what a dollar is worth, try to borrow one.

Profanity and plug tobacco spoil the mouth of a boy.

A philosopher is a man who never attempts to argue with his wife.

There are times when nothing speaks so eloquently as silence.

Never count your chestnuts until the burr is open.

He who lives in a glass house . . . should make arrangements to move.

If thy enemy wrong thee . . . buy each of his children a drum.

I hope you have enjoyed this brief glimpse into some of the more colorful aspects of the lives of our ancestors. Without the color, the history of those lives and the eras they moved through can be flat and one dimensional. Tonight we have only touched on a few of the categories which make up folklife studies here in western Virginia. There are many more. They are rich and varied and add so much to the understanding of who we are and where we come from.

And finally: As the tadpole said when it became a frog . . . "This is the end of my tail (tale)."

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Tracking Germans in the Valley: A few things you need to know in order to understand 18th- and 19th- century Germans and their records.

by Dorothy A. Boyd-Rush, Ph.D.

Presentation given at the May 1998 Augusta County Historical Society spring meeting held at the Museum of American Frontier Culture in Staunton, Va.

I may as well admit it – I'm going to cheat. I'm going to assume that you already know a fair amount about the Germans in the Valley of Virginia. If you don't, the following may encourage you to delve a bit deeper in other sources.

I assume that many of you are familiar with the fact that many of the Germans who settled in Virginia filtered down the Great Valley of Virginia during the 18th- and early 19th-centuries traveling over the Great Wagon Road. The Wagon Road originated in Philadelphia and ran all the way to North Carolina - and beyond. It ran through the modern counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Augusta, Botetourt, and others. Today the Great Wagon Road is better known as Virginia Route 11 and runs parallel to interstate 81. Some of you undoubtedly battle the trucks regularly along the latter.

A number of good libraries dot the route today: the Handley Library in Winchester; Eastern Mennonite University's Historical Library in Harrisonburg; the Genealogical Library of the Harrisonburg-Rockingham Historical Society in Dayton; the Staunton Public Library; the Roanoke Public Library; and the Kegley Library on the Campus of Wytheville Community College.

Ironically, I first came to the Valley from Philadelphia to teach at James Madison University over the same route. For those of you unfamiliar with JMU, it's located just off of I-81, near Route 11.

My husband is a descendant of a German named Johan Carl Risch who settled in the Valley in the 1750s. He was one of the founders of a Union Church called the Peaked Mountain Church in the area of McGaheysville, Virginia - that's in Rockingham County today and right in the middle of the Shenandoah Valley. I have worked with the Peaked Mountain Community for many years and have accumulated a large database in the process.

It would, however, be unwise to assume that all the Germans who came into the Valley via the Wagon Road in the 18th century had just "recently" landed in Philadelphia like Carl Risch. For example, some of the Germans who headed south along the Wagon Road in the 18th century were, in fact, the descendants of German Palatines who had arrived even earlier, in 1709/1710, in the then colony

of New York. After the dismal failure of Governor Hunter's "German experiment" there, some of these Palatines escaped from New York and moved to Pennsylvania, settling quite often in the Tulpehocken area of what is now Berks County. These Germans are also a special interest of mine. As some of you may know, Henry Z. ("Hank") Jones has published a number of books on the New York Palatines that are readily available.

However, whether the Germans were originally from New York, second generation Pennsylvanians, or indeed very recent arrivals like Carl, they did, indeed, head in significant numbers into the Valley of Virginia in the 1740s, and continued to do so until well after the Revolutionary War.

They brought into the Valley their extended families, their friends, their religion (usually Lutheran or Reformed for those that kept registers), their customs, as well as their tradition of record keeping. In Germany records were often used for tax purposes so they were, indeed, meticulously kept. In that sense and others, the church records of the New World Germans reflect their Old World origins.

Since paper was often in short supply, those who kept the records of the church wasted very little space. At first glance, the church records often appear to be impossible to read. Fortunately, those who like paleography (which is the study of old handwriting) and a good puzzle are not deterred by first impressions.

German church registers are invaluable sources of information. The reason is simple: most individuals are identified quite clearly. Especially in the 18th century, the full names of both parents are usually given, including the mother's maiden name. In general German records are much better than other records of the period in shedding light on the women in the family. Baptismal sponsors are identified on occasion by both name and relationship; for example, a baptismal sponsor might be identified as "Anna Margaretha Nicholas, the widow, the grandmother."

Keep in mind that baptismal sponsors were usually near relatives – brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles, etc. Which is why you absolutely need to study the extended German family and not just concentrate on a direct line.

While I'm on the subject of baptismal entries, I want to bring up one other point regarding the importance of researching the extended family and others associated with the line you're interested in. If you were tracing your German ancestors, you would probably like to trace them back to their place of origin in Germany or Switzerland or Alsace. Baptismal records may be the key to success. I'll give a personal example to make my case.

I mentioned earlier that my husband is a descendant of Johan Carl Risch who arrived in Philadelphia on the "Neptune" in 1746. I first located him on one of the passenger lists printed in Ralph Beaver Strassburger's three volume work entitled *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*. The volumes were first published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1934 and have subsequently been reprinted.

The 1746 passenger list indicates the name of Carl Risch just above that of Michael Fischer. That simple fact helped me track Carl to his place of birth. I assumed that those who were together when they landed had likely known each other before the voyage.

Johan Michael Fischer didn't settle near Carl, who attended the Peaked Mountain Church in Virginia. On the contrary, Michael remained in Pennsylvania. The church register of Keller's Lutheran Church in Bedminster Township in

Buck's County (an original county founded in 1682) indicates that a Johan Michael Fischer was a member and casually notes that he was from Idar-Oberstein.

Checking the microfilm of the church registers of Idar-Oberstein at the Family History Center, I found out that so was Carl! I also eventually found out that Carl's uncle was an even earlier immigrant to the New World. In 1709/1710, Jacob Risch arrived in New York, subsequently moved on to Pennsylvania, and had children who still later moved into the Valley of Virginia. Research indicates that similar cases happen time after time.

A warning is in order. When church registers are transcribed and published they don't always include all the information that's in the original register. Always check the original if at all possible. In addition, while I'm on my soapbox, always cite your source correctly. If you consulted the original say so. If you used a microfilm copy or a translation, indicate that fact.

I keep mentioning the Peaked Mountain Church. It is prominently displayed on both maps which appear in Klaus Wust's *The Virginia Germans* which was originally published in 1969 by the University Press of Virginia and has recently been reprinted.

While there were many Lutheran churches and many German Reformed congregations in the Valley by the early 19th century, there were also a significant number of Union churches in the same area. The Peaked Mountain Church was one of them.

Union churches simultaneously served the spiritual needs of both the Lutheran and the Reformed settlers of the region. For those who are not familiar with the term, a "union church" was a congregation made up of both Lutheran and Reformed members. The same structure simultaneously served the needs of both congregations. The reasons are simple. Ordained ministers were in short supply, the creeds had great similarities, and the language bonds were strong.

Members of the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches readily intermarried. In fact, they did so much more readily than was true in Germany. Marriage between those of the Lutheran and the Reformed faith was much more common in the 18th century than it was with members of the extended community, i.e., with their Ulster and English neighbors.

For much of the 18th century, there was a distinct division between the various ethnic groups within the Valley. Language was certainly one of the most important and obvious reasons. Within the German communities, German was spoken in the home throughout the 18th century, particularly in those counties where Germans obviously predominated, such as Shenandoah and Rockingham Counties. German continued to be the language of the church for the same period. German services were conducted in many areas of western Virginia until well into the 1830s. In Shenandoah County, the last documented German service occurred in 1844. But, the inescapable fact is that, after 1820, major and lasting shifts became common.

One of the more obvious changes involved German names, both personal and family names. For example, in Frieden's Cemetery in Rockingham County you can still see the weathered German tombstone of Anna ZIMMERMAN, located right next to her brother's. She died young and was buried in 1817. Her brother Jacob died a bit later, in 1831. His surname is rendered as Carpenter on his tombstone. Zimmerman had simply been translated into English as Carpen-

ter. The 1820s is a decade filled with such shifts.

The elaborate baptismal records maintained by the members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches also show the endurance of the old naming patterns until well into the 19th century. By "old naming patterns" we mean that Johan was the first given name for all of the sons and Anna or Maria was the first given name for most of the daughters. I've already introduced you to Johan Carl Risch and his friend Johan Michael Fischer. In fact, they were referred to as "Carl" and "Michael." Since it's so important, let me repeat that a family's first son might be baptized as Johan Peter and their second as Johan Jacob but within the family they were inevitably called "Peter" and "Jacob."

Gradually, however, first in the public records and later in the home, German naming patterns changed to those that are more familiar today; and, surnames were more and more commonly rendered in the English manner. ZIMMERMAN quite often became CARPENTER as noted a moment ago; ZELLERS changed to SELLERS; SCHWARTZ became BLACK; GERBER was often rendered as TANNER; GEIGER in some areas emerged as KYGER; and RISCH became RUSH. It would be nice if I could say it was done consistently, but of course I can not. Don't assume that you have the correct spelling of a name. Creatively check out all possibilities. Say the surname aloud – often.

While many congregations have kept their records; some have turned them over to their denomination's archives; others have allowed them to be microfilmed by the state; and, still others are in university manuscript collections. You need to be determined to track them down, but it can be done.

The good news is that many more than you might think have been at least partially transcribed and are available in typescript at local libraries – like the ones I mentioned above – thanks in large measure to local efforts. Sadly, many others have simply disappeared.

Again, a word of caution is in order. If you work from a published source, you may not have access to all the information in the original. Always, consult the original source whenever possible. A related problem concerns dates. Germans tended to write their dates as day, month and year, often writing only the numbers. Records with dates that are transcribed by those who are not fully aware of such conventions inevitably contain errors. Published cemetery transcriptions are a prime example.

Finally, be patient and enjoy what you're doing. All good things take time, care and study. Viel Glück.

Alexander Brownlee Lightner

by C. Homer Bast & Steve Bast

Alexander Brownlee Lightner, the great-great grandson of Johan Adam Leitner¹, was the youngest of nine living children of Samuel Lightner² a blacksmith and farmer of Augusta County, and Elizabeth Sensabaugh. Alexander was born on February 15, 1824, on his father's farm situated on the north fork of Christian's Creek, on the road from Greenville to Staunton.³ For a short time A.B.⁴ worked on the farm and in his father's blacksmith shop before leaving home around 1837 for Middlebrook to find work. From there A.B. moved to Staunton, where he was indentured to a well known tailor of the day, a Mr. Graves. Completing his apprenticeship by 1844, Lightner returned to Middlebrook, where he established a successful tailor's shop.⁵

By 1850 Middlebrook was a flourishing village of 400 inhabitants. With roots in the 18th Century, the Augusta County community supported a tanyard and leather making establishment, three cabinet makers, a hattery, a number of plasterers, a wagon factory, a boot and shoe shop, several tailors (Lightner and a Edward Heizer), two general stores, a blacksmith shop, an undertaker, a tavern, a post office, a cooper, a physician, a saddler and harness maker, and a saw mill. The small town, which spread out along both sides of the road ten or so miles south of Staunton, was an important trading center.⁶

After signing a marriage bond on November 15, 1844, A.B. married his first wife, Sarah Gardner, the daughter of John and Susan Gardner of Augusta County.⁷ The ceremony was performed by the Reverend Frances McFarland of the Bethel Presbyterian Church at Hebron near Middlebrook.⁸ Following the wedding, the couple resided in that village, where on January 17, 1846, a son, William Thomas, was born.⁹

On May 15, 1847, A.B. and his father-in-law purchased a dwelling on a quarter of an acre lot in south Middlebrook on the Staunton road. Bought from Peter Rouzer for \$30, the property was adjacent to that of Elijah Hogshead's.¹⁰ The building was doubtless Lightner's home as well as his shop. Meanwhile, on September 25, 1847, following a long painful illness, Sarah Gardner Lightner died and was buried in the Bethel church cemetery, where she had worshipped for 15 years.¹¹

Remaining in the thriving community of Middlebrook to pursue his trade, A.B. made friends and established enduring contacts. Here the 25 year old widower met and on July 16, 1849, wed Sarah Ellen Wayland,¹² the only daughter of Albert G. Wayland, a farmer and landholder of the hamlet of Summerdean.¹³ Residing in Middlebrook, the newly married couple established a widespread circle of friends, who proved to be extremely valuable in A.B.'s career. It was in Middlebrook, too, that Sarah Wayland Lightner's first son, Charles A., was born in 1852.¹⁴ In 1854 a daughter Florence B. became the couple's second child.¹⁵ George S. was born the next year. He was followed by Ella J. in 1857 and John A. in 1858. James, the Lightner's youngest son, was born nine years later, in 1867, on his father's 600 acre farm, the former Cochran place, near Churchville.¹⁶



Alexander Brownlee Lightner

Photo courtesy Library of Virginia

Meanwhile, Samuel Lightner, Sr., Alexander's father, who had lived at the old home place near Greenville, died on December 31, 1854.¹⁷ With several exceptions, which were carefully spelled out, Samuel's will, written on July 25, 1854, and witnessed by John S. Thomson, Peter H. Eidson and John Hawpe, bequeathed most of his estate to his executor in trust for his wife's support during her life. However, Matthew Pilson, Samuel's son-in-law, declined to serve as executor and the widow relinquished her right as administrator. Samuel's sons, Thomas A. and A. B., with Albert G. Wayland, Peter H. Eidson, Rudolph Turk and James E. Carson as their securities, entered into a bond for \$25,000 and became ad-

ministrators of their father's estate on January 23, 1855.¹⁸

As long as their mother lived, carrying out the dictates of the will were relatively simple. Six loans along with the interest due were called in, accounts settled and bills paid. By far the largest sum paid out, \$206.20, went to an unidentified Lightner and John B. Schultz, the latter a neighbor of Samuel's. On January 23, 1856, the brothers filed their first report, a rather bland accounting of their disbursements and collections during the year. The instrument indicated that for the first 12 months the estate was indebted to the brothers for \$13.05.¹⁹

With Elizabeth's death on June 13, 1856, the settlement of the estate took on a new dimension. Not only were seven brothers and two sisters involved, but also the shortage of assets brought a shortfall to the legatees who failed to receive their full bequest. On July 28, 1856, the brothers sold the 21 acre home farm with its house and outbuildings to Abraham Brubeck, father-in-law of Thomas Lightner, for \$1630.²⁰ Probably Samuel's most important asset was his nine slaves, all of whom were bequeathed to his children. Under the final settlement of the estate on January 23, 1859, some money was distributed to James Lightner, Matthew Pilson and Sarah Blanton, as the will decreed. In the end, however, the estate owed Thomas and A.B. \$307.41, the five per cent commission to which they were entitled.²¹

As A.B. measured, cut and sewed his fabric in Middlebrook, he must have

thought of his future. Indeed, he reached several important decisions by the spring of 1856, a most significant year for Lightner, who in the decades ahead by hard work, a pleasing personality and common sense, climbed to prominence in Augusta. His first decision was to run for political office; his second was to invest in land. Realizing that one way to power and importance was through politics, A. B., in April 1856, announced his candidacy for constable in the Middlebrook district.²²

In Augusta by 1855, for all practical purposes, the Whig Party had ceased to exist. Former members supported the American Party, later known as the Constitutional Union Party. It stood on the principle that a vote for its nominees would save slavery and the country. Earlier the Whigs had proclaimed their belief in the Constitution, the Union, internal improvements and banking reform. It may certainly be inferred that A.B., in running for office under the Party's banner, held to some of these beliefs. Doubtless he supported the Virginia Constitution of 1851, which enfranchised all white men, made some county offices elective, and kept taxation of slave property to a minimum. A.B. was particularly concerned about the latter for despite the growing anti-slavery sentiment in Augusta, by 1860 he had acquired nine slaves through inheritance and purchase.²³

In the Augusta County election of May, 1856, the voters of Middlebrook named A.B. their constable. As a local public officer, Constable Lightner was responsible for keeping the peace and for minor judicial duties in Middlebrook and the surrounding area. While still a tailor, nevertheless, his election encouraged him to take a greater interest in politics and in law enforcement. For 29 years, almost without interruption, A.B. served Augusta as constable, deputy sheriff and sheriff.

Plunging headlong into the political scene on April 27, 1857, A.B. was appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Whig and American Party to be a member of the Middlebrook Vigilance Committee. As a party faithful he was "to exert himself at once in order that his neighborhood be unanimously represented at the polls on May 30, 1857." In no uncertain words the Party admonished him, as well as the other committee appointees, to get out the vote for the election of Bolivar Christian, Nathaniel Massie and Major J. M. McCue to the General Assembly.²⁴

Enjoying politics and the work of his constabulary, on April 28, 1858, A.B. announced his candidacy for re-election as constable in Middlebrook. No mention of a political party was made. Election day passed with little disruption despite the heavy betting. In the official results published in the *Spectator* of June 1, 1858, A.B. was declared the winner and returned to office. In the contest for sheriff, Rudolph Turk defeated his opponent, P. G. Steele, 2065 to 752. Some weeks after the election Turk appointed his friend Alexander Lightner to be a deputy sheriff.²⁵

On March 4, 1859, the county commissioners named freeholders in each of the eighteen precincts as overseers of an off year special April election and the congressional one in May. A.B. was named officer in charge of the Middlebrook precinct, while William R. Dunlap, Samuel X. Kerr, William Thompson, James A.G. Scott and E. Hogshead were to assist.²⁶ Continuing its practice of getting out the vote, the Whig and American Party by April 12, 1859, had appointed Vigilance Committees for each precinct. A.B. was one of 29 included on that committee.²⁷

The year 1859-60, proved to be a time of further change for A.B. He per-

formed his constabulary duties, exerted considerable effort for his party, learned more about real estate and carried on the work as well as the supervision of his tailoring establishment. More importantly, however, he decided to turn to farming and move from Middlebrook to the Swoope Depot area during the fall/winter of 1859-60. Indeed, in 1860 he officially declared his occupation to be that of a farmer.

In the census of 1860 A.B. indicated that he owned 137 acres of land of which 62 acres were cultivated and 75 were woodlands, The whole was valued at \$3850. His four horses, three cows and four pigs were worth \$715, while the farm implements were valued at \$120. Produce on hand amounted to 20 bushels of wheat, 115 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of white potatoes and 150 pounds of butter. Living in his household were his wife Sarah, three sons, Charles A., George Samuel and John A, two daughters, Florence B. and Ella Virginia, a farm laborer, David Fulwider, housekeeper Nancy Graham and a Susan Eidson. No valuation was placed on his nine slaves.²⁸

A.B. did not run for public office in the county elections on May 29, 1860.²⁹ But his good friend Henry H. Peck was elected sheriff. On December 24, 1860, Peck appointed A.B. along with John Towberman, J. H. Batis, W. L. Mowrey, Rudolph Turk, and A. S. Turk to be his deputies.³⁰ With the challenges of his new life as a farmer, and the break up of his tailor's establishment, A.B. was busy during the turbulent weeks before the November 1860 election. Certainly he remained politically active. Attending monthly Court in Staunton, he probably debated current issues with his political and business associates. He undoubtedly talked at length over farm land and produce prices, especially wheat and corn. Except for getting out the vote, as all good party members did, what part A.B. actually played in the 1860 campaign is unknown. He was not an overseer of precinct polling. On election day, however, he doubtless joined with two thirds of the voters who cast their ballot for the Constitutional Union Party candidate, John Bell.³¹

Even with Lincoln's election most Augustans hoped that the Union might be saved and differences reconciled. In the months ahead the Augusta Unionists, John Brown Baldwin and Alexander H.H. Stuart, did their best to prevent secession. At first, most accepted the election results. After Lincoln's Inaugural Address, however, sentiment shifted and events moved rapidly. Along the way, States Rights Democrats became secessionists. Holding to his Unionist and pro-slavery views, A.B., too, was concerned over the Union's future, as well as the part he might play as a county officer in a military conflict.³²

While politics, public office, and law enforcement brought A.B. friends, and influence, it was the acquisition of land, a practice which lasted throughout his life, that gave him the most satisfaction and pleasure. Loving the land as he did, its procurement began while he was a tailor in Middlebrook. It was in 1856 that he made the important decision -- to invest in Augusta real estate. In these early days his partner was Rudolph Turk, neighbor, constable, sheriff and mentor.³³

On September 26, 1856, they first purchased from Washington Swoope, executor of Martha Ewing's estate, 186 acres. Before the deed was registered, the partners marketed 105 of those acres to Barbara Armstrong and Mary E. Everett for \$3675.³⁴ The balance of the acreage was retained by the two men.

The next year Lewis R. Boswell, trustee for the creditors of John H. Todd,

izing that individual Augustans were unable to meet the challenge, the Court, under a provision of the General Assembly passed on October 31, 1862, announced an organized governmental effort to help. Getting started was slow going. But finally on December 28, 1863, in the first of several measures authorized, the commissioners directed A.B. to purchase 10,000 bushels of corn for these families.⁵⁰

On January 26, 1864, agents were appointed in each district to purchase these supplies. Named purchasing agents in the Churchville district, A.B. and William M. Montgomery were expected to use their influence "in buying the necessities of life to relieve the wants of the families of the soldiers."⁵¹ At the next Court the agents were empowered to purchase corn at \$10 a bushel, flour at \$100 a barrel and bacon at \$1.50 a pound. All agents might now impress supplies for the support of the "indigent sailors and soldiers who have been disabled in the military service and of the widows and children of those military personnel who have died."⁵²

Meanwhile, Deputy Sheriff Lightner presented his customary list of delinquent taxpayers for 1863 to the sheriff and Court.⁵³ Then as county election time rolled around, on April 25, 1864, A.B. was appointed head of the delegation to conduct and oversee the elections in the Churchville precinct. For the first time both the recorder and the officer in charge at each polling place were to be paid for their efforts.⁵⁴ On May 26, 1864, A.B. ran for constable and was elected by the voters of District Nine.⁵⁵ One month later in Staunton, with his surety officer, Robert G. Bickle, A.B. took the oath of office. Bickle had made the Constable's \$5000 bond.⁵⁶

At the Court's meeting on December 26, 1864, Samuel Paul, who had been elected sheriff in May, named as his deputies, Henry H. Peck, Jr., John Towberman, George Harland, Samuel Patterson and A.B.⁵⁷ On February 27, 1865, Lightner returned to the sheriff and commissioners a list of delinquents for the county levy for 1864. A.B. tendered \$361.87 in cash but indicated that the enemy had interfered with his collections. Responding, the Court, with the possibility of more revenue, ordered the deputies to spend two additional days at each precinct.⁵⁸

With county wide contacts, A.B. realized that the war by the late winter was going badly. Talking with the other deputies and friends at the county seat, he had heard the latest war news. Aware that early in 1865 several local military units had publicly proclaimed they would carry on the fight, A.B. wanted to know whether the people felt the same. He, doubtless, attended the citizens meeting held after Court on February 27, 1865. Here he heard speeches that favored continuation of the war. The people responded by the end of the session by adopting a number of defiant resolutions, after which the meeting adjourned. In spite of the oratory and the people's resolve, the cause was lost. Surrender soon came.⁵⁹

During the war A.B. served Augusta as a constable and a deputy sheriff. In those offices he played a prominent role in gathering and distributing food and clothing to the men in gray and their families. In every election he was the officer in charge of the precinct and the supervisor of the delegation, first in Middlebrook, then in Swoope's Depot and Churchville. As a farmer he raised cattle and grew as much grain as possible. With his duties as deputy and constable, his farming operation was in the hands of others.

Before adjourning on April 24, 1865, the commissioners named a police chief for each magisterial district. Local law enforcement was essential in an un-

certain future and this move was deemed vital. On the 24th the Court was dissolved and Augusta was divided into military districts, which followed magisterial lines. Assuming the duties in Pastures district, Peter E. Wilson was given authority to select as many as 20 "active and efficient men" to work with him, if needed, to handle local disciplinary problems.⁶⁰ For the first time in many years A.B. held no elective nor appointive office. Turning his boundless energy to his farm, A.B. did not remain politically inactive for long.

With the conflict over the Augustans wanted to return to normalcy. Therefore, on May 8, 1865, in Staunton, a large and enthusiastic crowd gathered for a meeting called by Alexander Stuart, Colonel John B. Baldwin and others, to promote the restoration of civil government. Baldwin, always a compromiser, gave the featured address which was well received. The group adopted resolutions declaring that all armed resistance in Augusta had ended. A delegation made up of Stuart, Baldwin and others was named to travel to Richmond to confer with the Federal authorities.⁶¹ On May 9th General I. H. Duval, supported by six military units, opened his headquarters in Staunton and Augusta became a conquered territory.⁶² There was no business. Currency and credit were unavailable. People wandered about. Fortunately though, farmers planted their spring crops and by harvest time produce was plentiful for a price.

During the summer of 1865 the Provisional Governor of Virginia, Francis Harrison Pierpont, attempted to re-establish local government on his terms. County elections were called for on July 18, 1865. Most people took the oath of amnesty after the *Spectator* warned every man "who wishes to stand on a safe footing and to have his life, liberty and property secure from hazard had better take it without any hesitation."⁶³ Announcements of candidates for public office appeared in the paper on July 11, 1865, and election officials were appointed by the military to supervise the twenty county polling sites. A.B. was in charge of the Churchville precinct.⁶⁴

Pierpont's voting instructions were specific. Polling officials were reminded that two classes of persons might vote. All white citizens over 21 who were residents of their precinct six months prior to the election might vote. The second eligible voting group were those holding civil office in the Confederacy "who are otherwise embraced in the exceptions to the Amnesty Proclamation," and who "have been specially pardoned by the President."⁶⁵ Although A.B. did not run for office, many friends did so and won rather easily in a total vote of 2,231.⁶⁶

With the military and the governor refusing to recognize ex-Confederates as local officials, the July elections were ignored. The Augusta leaders used this occasion to send another delegation to Richmond to plead for the restoration of civil government. Here they learned that Pierpont insisted on limiting the right to vote to "persons who can purge themselves of aiding and abetting the rebellion."⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the military decided to act. Aware of local feeling in Augusta, especially that toward Pierpont, General Duval, on August 4, 1865, appointed a former deputy sheriff, John Towberman, County Crier, and ordered him to perform the duties of sheriff.⁶⁸

One of Towberman's first acts was to call a meeting of the commissioners for August 28, 1865. In this session William A. Burnett, who had been elected clerk of the court in May 1864 and re-elected in July 1865, was named to that office. Appearing later with his sureties, Towberman, Lightner, Henry Eidson

and A. A. Mcpheeters, Burnett took the oath of office. At the same meeting Towberman was named County Coroner. He then asked A.B. Lightner to be his surety on a \$3000 bond, which was required to hold the office. That day Lightner was named to a committee which settled estates. He was also sworn over as one of seventeen men for Grand Jury duty.⁶⁹

With the blessing of the military, Congressional and State elections were held on October 12, 1865. For this A.B. was appointed one of the commissioners of the Churchville precinct. Voters sent John B. Baldwin to Congress and Colonel George Baylor, J. Addison Waddell and Nicholas K. Trout to the General Assembly.⁷⁰ Revealing its conservative bias, that body voted for the Vagrant Acts, which regulated the activities of the freedmen.⁷¹

On October 23, 1865, Towberman appointed as his deputy coroners, Samuel Paul, William Mowry and A.B., who, after taking the oath, were sworn in. Relying heavily on Towberman, the commissioners also appointed him Collector of Revenue. Three months later the hard pressed and weary Towberman named Peck, Mowry, George Harland and A.B. as deputy collectors of revenue.⁷²

Permission was granted by the military to hold local elections on January 25, 1866. Many incumbents elected in July 1865 were returned to office in January as well. Again Samuel Paul became sheriff and on February 26, 1866, he appointed Towberman, A.B., Mowry, Harland and William Gamble deputies. Approved by the Court these men took the oath of office and went to work. On May 28, 1866, A.B., as deputy collector of revenue, reported for 1865 a list of the tax delinquents in Thomas Donoho's first district.⁷³ Local government had finally returned and, indeed, was functioning up to a point.

The reconstruction years were tough ones. But for A.B. the period was not all that bleak. Even though his slaves were free, he had the financial resources to purchase a large farm and, although mortgaged, there was income.⁷⁴ He held two county positions, deputy sheriff and deputy commissioner of revenue. From these he received a salary. In 1866 A.B. was farming, enforcing the law, collecting taxes, and participating in Court proceedings and political gatherings.

In June 1866 Congress proposed the 14th amendment which threw the protection of the Federal Government around the rights of life, liberty and property. As soon as this news reached Staunton, Judge J. Marshall McCue chaired a meeting of the people at the courthouse. Under the leadership of Stuart, who offered some defiant resolutions, the people voiced their strong disapproval of the proposed amendment.⁷⁵

After observing almost two years of reconstruction, Francis Pierpont realized that disenfranchisement left few qualified persons to run the government. He needed the former Confederates and moderated his thinking toward office holding. Even so, the General Assembly, which convened on December 2, 1866, voted against the 14th amendment.

Retaliating against this action as well as the Vagrant Acts, Congress passed the first Reconstruction Act and on March 2, 1867, Virginia became Military District number One. Eleven days later Major General John M. Schofield was named the State's first military commander. Declaring that he would "supersede the civil authorities only so far as it was necessary in the discharge of his duties," the General, though, enforced the second Reconstruction Act, which granted suffrage to freedmen.⁷⁶ Even though the military now played a more prominent

part in local affairs, Augusta officials carried out their duties without interference. As deputy sheriff and deputy revenue commissioner, A.B., on April 22, 1867, reported to the Court the real estate delinquents in his district.⁷⁷

Augusta County white landholders felt insecure during the spring of 1867 as radical talk about land confiscation became more vehement. At the Republican State convention in April 1867 a radical program was adopted. It called for black civil rights, uniform taxation, disenfranchisement of former Confederates, and free public education. Some radicals wanted confiscation of rebel property to be a plank in the platform. Such action was cause for alarm. Meanwhile, Schofield authorized a vote on a call for a Constitutional Convention. In preparation for this vote in the fall of 1867, a registration of voters, including the blacks, was ordered.⁷⁸

Most Augusta whites opposed such a convention and so voted. But the New Hope, Churchville and Mt. Sydney precincts did have some whites who were in favor.⁷⁹ Disheartened by the events of the summer and fall, 800 conservatives from around the State met in Richmond on December 11, 1867. Resolutions accepting the abolition of slavery, but expressing the hope that Virginia would be restored to the Union and the whites be allowed to govern the State, were passed. A system of party organization was also set up. For practical purposes the Virginia Conservative Party was born.⁸⁰

Despite voter opposition, delegates to the Constitutional Convention met in Richmond on December 3, 1867. Powell Harrison, Joseph Waddell, and James C. Southall, the latter shared with Albermarle, represented Augusta. By April 17, 1868, the General Assembly passed the Underwood Constitution, which included the test oath and disenfranchisement clauses.⁸¹

Meanwhile, on April 4, 1868, Schofield replaced Pierpont with Major General Henry H. Wells. By this time the Republicans realized the futility of an immediate vote on the Underwood Constitution. County elections were held the last of May. A.B. was one of those many Conservative Party members who ran for office. He was easily elected constable in the Pastures district.⁸²

Schofield had scheduled a vote on the Underwood Constitution for June but postponed it indefinitely. He believed that its passage would be calamitous for the State. On June 1, 1868, Major General George Stoneman, far more radical than Schofield, became Virginia's new commander. As before, elected officials carried out their duties. For example, A.B., as deputy sheriff, reported the condition of his district's finances to the Court, as he usually did. In November, Henry Wells became governor, General Grant won the Presidency, and the large majority of Republicans in Congress made black suffrage an assured fact.⁸³

The time was ripe for men like Stuart, John Echols and Judge H. W. Sheffy to propose a compromise. On December 25, 1868, the Richmond newspapers published the startling contents of a letter from Stuart. He suggested that black suffrage be accepted in return for the removal of the disqualifying articles of the Underwood Constitution. At a December 31, 1868, meeting of conservatives Stuart was appointed chairman of a Committee of Nine to confer with Congress about Virginia's restoration to the Union on the basis of "universal suffrage and universal amnesty."⁸⁴

About the same time the Committee of Nine appeared in Washington, two Virginia Republican committees with varying views on the Constitution also ar-

rived. Weeks of uncertainty followed before the Congressional Reconstruction Committee agreed to a separate vote on the disqualifying clauses. The Committee of Nine secured Grant's support and then Stuart and Baldwin hurried to Staunton to report on February 22, 1869, about their work.⁸⁵ On the same day A.B., as a deputy to Samuel Paul, returned to the Court the names in his district of the personal property delinquents for 1868. A list of the 468 tithables was posted at the courthouse. At this same meeting it was voted to compensate the sheriff \$12 for each person he brought to Court. Such a stipend certainly made the sheriff's position more attractive.⁸⁶ While events unfolded in Washington, Augusta County business proceeded as usual.

Three weeks later the fire storm struck. As a result of General Stoneman's General Order #24 of March 15, 1869, all of Augusta's elected civil officials were removed from office. It was a move designed to place power in the hands of the radicals. Because of a lack of qualified men to fill the vacancies, however, the Court failed to meet on March 22, 1869, and no public business was conducted. The next day General Stoneman named Samuel Cline as clerk to replace W. A. Burnett. Appearing before the Judge of the 11th Judicial Circuit, Cline took the oath as prescribed by the Act of 1862. On March 29, 1869, the new clerk together with his sureties William Burnett, A.B. Lightner, Nicholas K. Trout and John Echols, entered into and acknowledged a bond for \$3000.⁸⁷

Most of the Stoneman appointees failed to qualify for the office to which they were named; consequently, the military ordered the former county civil officers, ineligible to hold office by the act of July 2, 1862, to take the oath and forward that information to Richmond. A.B. complied and thus fulfilled his obligation. Several months later Sheriff George W. McCutchen named twelve men, including A.B., as deputies to assist him and to act as police.⁸⁸

Apprehensive over the outcome of the July 6, 1869, vote on the Underwood Constitution, the conservatives, on April 28, 1869, met to discuss strategy. Outside of expressing disapproval of portions of the new Constitution no recommendations were made and nothing was accomplished. During the few weeks which followed, many voiced their opposition. When the July 1869 results were posted, the Underwood Constitution was adopted and the disqualifying clauses, which were submitted separately, were rejected.⁸⁹

Convened on October 5, 1869, the General Assembly ratified the 14th and 15th amendments. The military district was no more. In November 1869 Senator James Waddell, delegates H.M. Bell, A. B. Cochran and Marshall Hanger, were voted into office and took their seats in the new General Assembly.⁹⁰ In January 1870, Virginia returned to the Union.

Meanwhile, what had happened to A.B.'s dream of Augusta land? During the 1860s he sold several tracts, settled a trust or two and made a significant purchase. On March 7, 1862, A.B. and Turk sold the remaining 81 acre Ewing estate for \$2835 to Elijah Hogshead, a Middlebrook store owner. On August 1, 1865, the William Hall trust was closed. Finally, the lot and dwelling in Middlebrook which A.B. and James Grove bought in 1857 was sold on October 15, 1868, to Hildebert N. Perry.⁹¹

More importantly, the opportunity to own a larger farm opened up for A.B., who, in 1866, bought from Robert Cochran 563 acres, part of the estate of Robert's father, James A. Cochran. The tract was situated between Buffalo Branch and

Dry Branch several miles southwest of Churchville. A.B. and his family moved there shortly after the purchase terms were agreed upon. The deed was registered on January 19, 1877, following A.B.'s last payment.⁹²

Living on the Buffalo Gap farm which was valued at \$10,000 on August 8, 1870, A.B. cultivated 300 acres and had 300 acres of woodland. The farming implements were worth \$100 and he paid annual wages of \$ 500 to his son Charles. By this time the slaves were free and his hired hand, David Fulwider, left to work for James McCutchen at 50 cents a day. In addition to 12 horses, six cows, 20 hogs and 50 other animals valued at \$1000, A.B. had on hand 100 bushels of rye, 50 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of oats and wheat worth \$700, as well as butter, hay and fruit.⁹³ Consisting of his wife, sons, Charles, George, John and James, daughters, Florence and Ella Virginia, his family also included Mary Blackwell and daughter Sally both of whom helped with housekeeping chores. A black farm laborer, William Washington owned bordering land and may have worked for A.B. during harvest time.⁹⁴

Of all the problems facing the 1870 General Assembly, funding the State debt of \$45 million was one of the most pressing. Although accumulating considerable bonded indebtedness, it was offset somewhat by the State's holdings in railroads and canals. Wanting to preserve Virginia's fiscal record, delegates passed the Funding Act of 1866. During reconstruction, the funding problem festered.⁹⁵

By March 8, 1870, finances were so bad that Governor Gilbert Walker lectured the General Assembly on the debt and outlined measures to restore the State's credit. In 1871 a new Funding Act provided that the owners of State certificates might exchange them for six percent coupon bonds, good for paying taxes. Not only did this increase the debt, but little money remained for running the government. A widespread reaction emerged and funding became a campaign issue.⁹⁶

By this time A.B. was an established farmer, a member of the Churchville Agricultural Society, a former constable, deputy sheriff and a well known man of principle and honesty. Living near Churchville since 1866, he was keenly aware of the hopes and dreams, as well as the problems which the people of Pastures and Augusta faced. A conservative, but one who believed the public debt should be adjusted, he belonged to the agrarian wing of the Conservative Party. At political and agricultural meetings in Churchville he became a leader of the farmers as they sought to find solutions to their problems.⁹⁷

Prior to August 28, 1871, A.B. was elected a delegate by the Pastures Conservative Party to represent the district in the State convention.⁹⁸ In Richmond, A.B. heard the Honorable R. T. Montague, in taking the chair, appeal to the members to "erect a white wall to save Virginia from Radical spoilation and degradation." The Conservative Party leaders urged "the voters to elect the best men to represent the Party and to ignore the local issues" in November, 1871. To them the real issue was whether the Conservative Party or Radical Party would govern.⁹⁹

Returning home, A.B. decided to act. To him, while funding was important, local issues needed the General Assembly's attention and were equally significant. Farmers required credit to restore their lost buildings, replace their equipment, and purchase breeding stock. Other pressing questions such as a more equitable tax structure, road improvements, public education, and reform of local government were waiting for action by the General Assembly.

At the Augusta Conservative Party convention held on Monday, October 16, 1871, at the courthouse, thirteen men were nominated for the House of Delegates. After a number of ballots and much talk, Marshall Hanger, A. B. Lightner and Charles S. Roller were nominated for the House, while Alexander B. Cochran was named for the Senate seat.¹⁰⁰

Unlike the other candidates, A.B. took immediate steps to publicize his views. On October 31, 1871, he announced that he was opposed to the Funding Act and its high interest rate. He also believed with the farmers and the adjusters that Virginia's war losses should be divided between creditors and debtors.¹⁰¹ Following a fall of vigorous campaigning, the voters in November gave Hanger 2013 votes, Roller 1936 and Lightner 1918. The latter ran particularly well in the Pastures and Beverly Manor districts.¹⁰²

Taking his seat in the House of Delegates on December 6, 1871, A.B. was appointed by the speaker to three committees. In many ways the weeks that followed proved to be a learning experience for A.B., who was not an attorney. More importantly, the session was not only legislatively significant, but also it set the stage for future Conservative Party policy. In the days ahead A.B. expressed a minority political philosophy which made him part of the liberal, agrarian wing of that Party. During his term public debt measures, all with a lower rate of interest, were passed. Acts, too, having to do with a uniform system of schools, turnpikes, the sheriff's office, appointment of deputies, sale of delinquent lands and lobbying, were approved. A.B. was particularly active in matters pertaining to law enforcement. Apparently instrumental in the establishment of the land grant college in Blacksburg, he was also in favor of the State Board of Agriculture's attempt to hold institutes to instruct farmers in scientific principles.¹⁰³ Unlike other farmers, A.B. was not a victim of inefficient and antiquated methods of planting, harvesting and marketing. As a former tailor and one new to farming techniques, he had an open mind.

By October 1873 the Funders were in control of the Augusta Conservative Party. In the convention Hanger, Stuart and Absalom Koiner, all funders, were chosen for the House, while Cochran was re-nominated for the Senate. The November election gave them overwhelming victories. Out of step with the times, A.B. disappointingly was not selected as one of the Conservative Party's candidates to the House.¹⁰⁴

The year 1873 and the several that followed were painful ones. The economic panic was marked by the collapse of credit, the stagnation of industry, the prohibitive price of money and a general depression. Notwithstanding support from agrarian interests, the issues of retrenchment and tax reform divided the delegates. Even though A.B. failed in 1875 to win the Party's nomination to the House, he did receive some write-in votes in November. Hanger, Stuart and J. D. Craig, secured the nomination to the House and won with ease against the Republicans, Hanger, Alexander Stuart, the Readjuster Craig, and the Funder, Cochran, represented Augusta in Richmond in December 1875.¹⁰⁵

With the 1876 presidential year at hand, the Conservatives campaigned early. On May 25, 1876, a huge crowd gathered on the courthouse grounds to hear Hanger, Cochran, James Bumgradner, John Echols and others make "capital" speeches, as they lashed out at the Republicans, Radicals, and Independents. Strangely A.B. was not mentioned by the reporter and apparently did not speak.¹⁰⁶

On July 24, 1876, at a party meeting, one of the largest ever held in Augusta, the Conservatives ratified the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks as President and Vice-President, respectively. A committee composed of James H. Skinner, A.M. Bowman, A.A. Sproul, Lightner and Craig prepared resolutions expressing their views, as well as the virtues of the Presidential nominees, and pledged the Party's support of the candidates. The resolutions were adopted with cheers.¹⁰⁷

On August 19, 1876, an Augusta County Tilden-Hendricks club, with A.B. as vice-president, was formed to develop an efficient county wide organization. At Churchville, too, another club was formed with Lightner as president. Throughout the fall the club members worked diligently for their candidates. A.B. was in the trenches. This was the kind of political activity he enjoyed. Others were better on the stump; A.B. was the work horse at getting out the vote.¹⁰⁸ Lightner had done his job well. Tilden was eminently successful in November. But this was the disputed election and by March 5, 1877, Hayes was in.

By the summer of 1877 the big political issues, funding the debt, the power of turncoat William Mahone, and agrarian reform, led to a split within the Conservative Party. This became evident on July 23, 1877, at a courthouse meeting of about 500 people presided over by John Paris, President of the Board of Supervisors. The meeting was called "to take into consideration the interest of the people and the credit of Virginia." A.B. Lightner, prominent farmers Absalom Koiner, Colonel S.A. East, John H. Crawford, George W. Swoope, and Staunton businessmen David A. Keyser and William A. Burkeat, made up the resolutions committee. Unexpectedly, a majority as well as a minority report came out of the committee. The majority report opposed the repudiation of any part of the public debt, while the minority report, inspired by East and Crawford, insisted that readjustment was not repudiation. John N. Opie moved for the adoption of the minority report which included points made at an earlier Adjusters meeting.¹⁰⁹

Following speeches by Hanger, S. Brown Allen and Koiner and a call for the question, pandemonium broke out. The hooting and howling was so intense no one could speak. Finally, 40 adjusters left the courthouse to hold their meeting in the yard, where the minority report, was adopted. Before those in the courthouse could vote, Judge Hendren asked for the return of the room for court business.¹¹⁰

Several days later all districts elected their delegates to the State Conservative Party convention. On Saturday, July 28, 1877, at the Churchville meeting presided over by A.B. Lightner, "a Fred W. M. Holliday for governor ticket" was selected. Delegates representing Pastures in Richmond in August 1877 were the following: J. H. Stover, Dr. James F. Tate, David F. Hoover and A.B. They were instructed to vote against Billy Mahone and his crowd.¹¹¹

During the fall the Conservative candidates for the General Assembly held informational meetings in several parts of the county. On Saturday, September 28, 1877, at New Hope with only 30 persons present, John H. McCue, James H. Skinner, A.B. Lightner, Absalom Koiner, Davis Craig, Marshall Hanger, John N. Opie, John Echols and A. Blauth, spoke. In his speech, which received little space in the press, A.B. said that taxes should not be increased and that the public credit should be sustained. Endorsing the views of Echols and Hanger, he was convinced that the legislature should make an honorable effort to adjust the debt in a practical manner and that State expenses should be reduced even to the extent of

cutting a legislator's salary from \$3.50 to \$3.00 a day. A firm believer in retrenchment he also wanted property assessments lowered for taxation purposes.¹¹²

Fall campaigning continued apace. On October 6, 1877, Hanger, Opie, Echols, Blauth, and William T. Rush, all candidates for the House, spoke at Craigsville, again to a small crowd.¹¹³ Three days later at the Augusta Democratic/Conservative Party convention two competing slates were nominated for the House. The Adjusters selected D. N. Van Lear, Davis Craig, and H. J. Williams, the Funders nominated Echols, Hanger and A.B. Making the point that they would pay the debt and not legislate an unacceptable readjustment, the Conservative Party candidates promised entrenchment, even to the extent of reducing their salaries, enforcing existent revenue laws and writing new ones.¹¹⁴

During the campaign, candidates of both slates addressed the people in Middlebrook, Newport, Buffalo Gap, New Hope, Churchville, Mt. Solon, Mt. Sidney, Spring Hill, Sherando, Greenville, Deerfield and Fishersville. A.B.'s duties as sheriff limited his attendance at these meetings. John N. Opie was especially active, after having been selected by a voters' petition on October 10, 1877, to run for the House.¹¹⁵

In November Major Koiner was elected to the Senate, Echols, and Hanger to the House. Van Lear was the only Readjuster selected, but he was "too wise a gentleman of enlightened views and too wise to throw away any part of Augusta's influence." With only 978 votes, 88 fewer than Van Lear, A.B. ran fifth out of eight candidates. He did well in Pastures and South River but was hurt by Opie in Staunton, Beverly Manor and Riverheads. Opie, a popular man running as an Independent, received 422 votes and thus drew voters away from A.B. It was a shocking defeat for a funder and the Conservative Party's candidate. Commenting on the election, the *Vindicator* indicated that Lightner's "experience in legislation would be lost."¹¹⁶

Over the years A.B. realized that he and other farmers were confronted with similar problems. It was not merely a question of recovering from the war, but also individual farmers were powerless to reduce transportation costs, overproduction and market prices. A.B. believed that only with united action would agricultural stability improve.

As early as February 20, 1867, a Churchville Agriculture Club existed and doubtless A.B. worked to organize other groups. Lightner made his voice heard in the farmers' interests at political and agricultural meetings. He fought with them for lower interest rates and taxes and ways to retain their hired hands.¹¹⁷ The need though was for a more aggressive organization which would help in this battle for farmers' rights. It came in the form of the Grange.

George W. Koiner of Fishersville, with the help of A.B., brought the Grange to Augusta in 1873-4. It was a popular movement in which farmers united to elect candidates to office, agitated for farm relief through railway and warehouse regulation, embarked upon business enterprises and organized cooperatives. The Grange taught the value of political cooperation and the necessity of placing legislative curbs on business and transportation.

In January 1874 the East Augusta and the Moffett's Creek Grange were chartered. Within four months the Spring Hill, the Moscow, Summerdean and the Churchville Granges were instituted by Koiner. Lightner was "Master", or president of the latter, which was made up of such individuals as Ephraim and

Henry Geeding, James Wilson, D. N. Wilson, James M. Hoover, Christian Bear, E.B. Bear, and G.M. Bear. Later, two more societies were organized at Greenville and Broadhead. Bases were now in place for future political action. In 1874 a county Grange was organized and construction began on a meeting hall on Beverly Street in Staunton. In 1875 Koiner represented Augusta in Richmond in a movement to regulate freight rates and to abolish railroad passes.¹¹⁸

For a time the Grange was an excellent vehicle of expression for Lightner. As the Grange grew in popularity so A.B. gained esteem among the farmers by serving as chairman of the Grange's executive committee. But such influence worked against him, too, for this farmer's organization was considered a dangerous group to the Conservatives, the party in power.¹¹⁹ A.B. became a marked man. Probably more than anything else it accounted for his legislative defeats in the Augusta Conservative Party convention. With the Grange's demise and Lightner's loss of interest, once again, he gained his Party's trust and respect and was returned to leadership.

Even while he was stumping Augusta in a real political effort for nomination to the House in 1877, A.B. accepted the appointment by the Court on July 1, 1877, to fill the unexpired term of John Towberman as High Sheriff.¹²⁰ With his many years of experience enforcing the law, as constable and deputy sheriff, A.B. was the ideal man for this post. The day he was appointed eleven friends acted as his surety for a \$50,000 bond, necessary to hold the office.¹²¹

Doubtless realizing that he would be named sheriff, A.B., on July 1, 1877, appointed his son, William T. Lightner, who had been elected constable of the Pastures district in May, as one of his deputies.¹²² Several months later the hard working sheriff was advertising the sale of land and acting as administrator of estates.¹²³ As the chief law enforcement officer of the county, he could appoint one or more full time or part time deputies to assist him. Besides enforcing State laws and county ordinances, A.B. was charged with the collection of taxes. He served all legal papers for the Court; he was in charge of the county jail and provided for the welfare of the prisoners.

The appointment served him well. As sheriff, A.B. kept his name before the people. This gave him more public exposure, and additional experience in law enforcement. Slow to reach a decision about running for re-election in 1879, A.B. finally announced his candidacy on May 13, 1879. In the *Spectator* announcement Lightner stated that he was a candidate for re-election as sheriff of Augusta County. He referred to his past record as his qualification.¹²⁴

"Responding to the call of many voters," John J. Larew decided to run against the incumbent. A former constable in Riverheads, Larew received votes for sheriff in 1877, even though not a candidate. In the election which was held on Thursday, May 22, 1879, A.B. won the tight contest, 1316 to 1259. Winning in Beverly Manor, Pastures and North River, he lost Riverheads, Middle and South River.¹²⁵ For the next four years A.B. faithfully executed his duties and solidified his position as a leader of the Conservatives.

Meanwhile, on August 1, 1870, with the days of reconstruction behind him, A.B. bought through public auction from the U.S. Government a distillery, its fixtures, and the acre of land on which it stood in Staunton. He then leased the property to John R. Riley for the purpose of distilling liquor.¹²⁶ Later profit from this investment may have made it possible for A.B. to acquire more land in the 1880s.

Outside of buying the distillery, paying off the mortgage on the Churchville farm, and purchasing the Summerdean property A.B. acquired no other land in the 1870s. To help out his father-in-law, who was in financial difficulty, A.B. bought 60 1/2 acres of Wayland's land near Summerdean for \$4243 on May 17, 1872. Seventy dollars an acre was a steep price to pay for Augusta land. This expensive tract on the Middle River was part of Lucy Ann Moffett's home, the Moffett farm. Jointly owned by Wayland and Lucy the land was bounded by the roads from Summerdean to Swoope's Depot and from Summerdean to Staunton.¹²⁷

Over the next four years A.B. added to his holdings several more parcels in the Summerdean area. At public auction on January 28, 1876, he purchased three tracts consisting of 58 1/2 acres adjacent to the Wayland land for \$1969.25 from the *Hill vs Wayland* chancery estate. Payment was made with \$154.72 in cash and a three year bond with H. M. Bell for \$604.84 a year. In another area acquisition on February 26, 1878, A.B. bought at auction from the estate of Meredith Bailey 31 acres for \$901.14. Located six miles southwest of Staunton on the Summerdean road, this parcel was adjacent to his Summerdean purchases.¹²⁸

By June 4, 1880, Sheriff Lightner owned not only the 150 acres in Summerdean for which he paid \$7114.14 or \$47.42 an acre, but also 354 acres around Buffalo Gap. Some 150 acres of the latter were tilled. This land was valued for \$15,000. His farm implements were worth \$350 and the livestock \$1000. Planting 40 acres of corn in the spring, he had on hand 1600 bushels of wheat and 500 pounds of butter at this time.¹²⁹

In June 1879 the Conservatives of Pastures with the "Honorable A.B. Lightner presiding," met in Churchville to name State convention delegates and to select representatives to the 1881 Conservative Party County Committee. A.B. and Dr. J. F. Tate were named the convention delegates. J. Hatch Stover and D. F. Hoover were alternates. A.B. and Stover became Pastures' members of the powerful Conservative Democratic County Committee. On August 4, 1881, A.B. and Tate joined the other Augusta delegates in Richmond at the convention.¹³⁰

Later at the County convention in Staunton, the Party members nominated Absalom Koiner for the Senate and Marshall Hanger and J. H. Skinner for the House. Both Koiner and Hanger were veteran legislators. Skinner was the new man. All won rather easily in November 1881. Tied down with the duties of office A.B., a tireless champion of the Party candidates, assisted where and when he could in the campaign.¹³¹

On April 6, 1883, A.B., in seeking another term as sheriff, announced his candidacy for re-election, subject to the Democratic primary. The Party Executive Committee canvassed the returns and announced the slate of nominees for election day, May 24, 1883. A.B., of course, was selected on his Party's ticket for sheriff.¹³²

Complaining they had seen no announcement for sheriff, some people called on William H. Shields, a Riverheads businessman to be a candidate. In his announcement Shields promised that if elected he would attend strictly to business and "an energetic and faithful discharge of the duties of the office."¹³³ The outcome in May was never in doubt as A.B. carried all districts and won by a vote of 2136 to 1358. The result would have been more decisive had the Fifth Virginia Regiment, away at camp, been at home to vote. According to the *Spectator* "every trick was resorted to by the opposition to the Democrats in getting up

tickets calculated to fool the voters."¹³⁴

A.B. did not seek re-election in May 1885. Having served as sheriff for eight years and earlier as a deputy and constable, he wished to run for the General Assembly, where he would write the laws rather than enforce them. With the funding issue about settled and with name recognition acquired, the long time sheriff and local politician was ready to make a run for it. Democratic Party talk and newspaper editorials called for the decisive defeat of William Mahone's Republican Party.¹³⁵

On August 18, 1885, the Augusta Democratic Committee named September 5th as the day to select delegates to the county convention. Precinct committees were appointed and officials named to supervise the elections. By now A.B. had moved to West View on the Parkersburg Pike. He was so well known that he was immediately selected a member of the Hebron precinct delegation. Gilbert C. Childs, Edward Wayland, George W. Swoope and Samuel C. Brown were the other members.¹³⁶

On September 10, 1885, the delegates, elected in the precinct primary, met at a packed Augusta County courthouse. Following the convention's organization, that body approved the Party platform and nominees named in the State convention and agreed to support the "gentlemen who shall be nominated by this Convention." Absalom Koiner and J. A. Patterson were nominated for the Senate with the former defeating the latter 51-33. Four individuals, Captain Hugh F. Lyle, A. B. Lightner, Colonel John H. Crawford and Edward Nichols, Esq. were nominated for the two House seats. A.B., a resident of Beverly Manor district, was nominated by his old friend, H. O. Ferguson of Pastures. With each delegate voting for two nominees, Echols received 59 votes, Lightner 46, Lyle 36 and Crawford 27. Echols and Lightner were declared the winners and the Democratic candidates for the House in November 1885.

In reporting the convention's activities, the *Spectator* of September 16, 1885, wrote that following the remarks from Koiner and Echols, "Next came the 'old wheel horse', as some in the Convention called him, as the gray head of Mr. Lightner was observed to rise above the crowd in ascending the stand. He wore a pleasant smile and returned his thanks for the honor. He intended to show the boys in this campaign that he was no 'old man' as had been claimed. He was in for a big fight and a big majority and intended to hold his own with the youngest member of the party."¹³⁷

The Democratic candidates worked hard to rally the voters during the weeks that followed. Less bitter than others, the campaign was characterized by speeches, parades and barbecues. In the debates new issues, such as local option in securing liquor licenses, increased pensions for soldiers, and free text books, were raised. A.B.'s victory in November 1885 was one of the high water marks of his career. Those years as a constable, deputy and sheriff served him well. With 3737 votes A.B. ran ahead of Echols' 3704 votes. The Republicans, Bowman and Skelton, with 2846 and 2837 votes, respectively, ran well behind the Democrats. In Augusta, Fitzhugh Lee defeated John S. Wise in the gubernatorial race by a vote of 3867 to 2838. William Mahone had actively backed Wise. It was a real blow for the former "State boss."¹³⁸

On Wednesday, December 2, 1885, A.B., along with 72 other Democrats, answered the roll in the House chamber. In his first official act he voted for Charles

E. Stuart of Alexandria for speaker and then A.B. cast his vote for John W. Daniel as the new Senator from Virginia. Six days later A.B. was named to three committees: Banks, Currency and Commerce; Agriculture and Mining; and Counties, Cities and Towns.

In the middle of December A.B. was granted a two day leave of absence, even though Echols called for a vote on the question. Such action was highly unusual and especially by an Augusta colleague. Requests like these were granted without a formal vote. During the session Echols and A.B. often disagreed over bills. Echols was active as he introduced legislation, called for the question, and engaged in floor debate. A.B., on the other hand, introduced but two bills, one to amend the charter of the Staunton Gas Company, the other to protect fish in the waters of the commonwealth. He took little or no part in debating the issues but worked tirelessly behind the scene on his committees.

In answering the fall campaign issues, A.B. voted to appropriate \$70,000 for claims of disabled veterans. He rejected a motion for the publication of names of individuals paying taxes with state coupons. Opposed to the sale of lands for those delinquent for taxes and county levies, he voted against the appointment of a special committee to handle state debt resolutions. He voted to refer the question of a liquor license to the people and throughout the session pushed hard for fiscal responsibility, even to the extent of voting against buying a flag for the capital.¹³⁹ A.B. could claim that he had a part in enacting enlightened bills, which supported public schools and developed the State agriculturally, including outlawing fraudulent fertilizers and increasing the scope of the Department of Agriculture.¹⁴⁰

By March 7, 1886, A.B. returned to West View to rest, to tend his many responsibilities and make plans for another term in the House. On July 30, 1887, primary meetings were held to select delegates to the State Democratic convention and to choose county committee members. A.B. and John Opie were named as Beverly Manor delegates and to Richmond, but neither were named to the all important Democratic County Committee.¹⁴¹

On August 20, 1887, this committee convened to work out a procedure for selecting General Assembly candidates. Less than a month later, on September 7, 1887, A.B. announced his candidacy for re-election subject to the October 4, 1887, primary. Those candidates nominated for the House seats were: J.W. Churchman, J. H. Crawford, Edward Echols, John N. Opie and A.B. Lightner. In the primary each voter selected two candidates from the five nominees. Echols with 1588 votes and John H. Crawford with 1277 were the clear winners. A.B. ran fourth with only 994 votes. Competition from neighbor John Opie hurt A.B. especially in Beverly Manor, Staunton and North River.

Echols win was expected. What hurt A.B. most was Crawford's victory. Although defeating him in Beverly Manor, Pastures and Riverheads, the "old wheel horse" could not overcome his opponent's showing in Middle River and South River. In Staunton, which had always been strong for Lightner, Crawford garnered two more votes than the incumbent.¹⁴²

For the next two years A.B. focused on his farms and the litigation over land purchased by S. D. Timberlake and A.B. As with other farmers, he was concerned, too, with low prices, the condition of the roads, but pleased over the possibilities of the appearance of the Farmers' Alliance. It was not long, how-

ever, before the first salvo in the political campaign of 1889 was fired. The Democratic County Committee, without the presence of A.B., held a meeting on August 10, 1889, to organize the Party and publicize the procedure for selecting General Assembly candidates.¹⁴³

Eighty-two delegates met in Staunton on September 3, 1889, and voted for Samuel H. McCue as president of the convention. After the opening speeches and the report of the credentials committee, Captain James Bumgardner, Jr. nominated Edward Echols to the Senate. He won by acclamation. For the House, Colonel H. J. Williams of Riverheads nominated A.B. Lightner in a strong and forceful speech. Major T. C. Elder placed George M. Cochran, Jr. before the delegates. Samuel Forrer named Colonel John H. Crawford for re-election. Marion Koiner put John W. Churchman, in nomination. In the voting, Cochran received 70 3/4 votes, Lightner 48 1/4, Churchman 33 3/4 and Crawford 10 1/4. Cochran and A.B. were nominated and Crawford, the incumbent who so easily defeated A.B. in 1887, ran a distant last.

After Cochran's acceptance speech, Edward Echols reminded the delegates that "we were not fighting for tariffs or any federal issues, but for local government." In his acceptance speech, A.B. acknowledged the many compliments and favors he had received from the Democrats of Augusta and pledged himself to outwork "the liveliest Democrat that could be gathered up for a big majority."¹⁴⁴ Again A.B. was the one who showed great Party appeal.

The elections of 1889, according to the *Spectator*, were waged to save Virginia from the "rule of the worst political boss and would be tyrant that ever desecrated her sacred soil."¹⁴⁵ Augusta Democrats were determined to spoil William Mahone's run for governor. Not only would they vote for Philip W. McKinney against him, but also their efficient precinct machinery would carry the General Assembly nominees to victory.

As early as September 4, 1889, the *Spectator* urged the Democratic Committee members, as well as the candidates, to campaign the county "in this, the most extraordinary contest that every existed in the State." Both parties waged a vigorous campaign. In the week before the election the Democratic Committee and the candidates carried out spirited and eloquent speaking engagements. Even George Lightner made speeches on behalf of his father in Mt. Meridian, Hermitage, Fishersville and Middlebrook. On November 5, 1889, Cochran and A.B. received 4274 and 4192 votes, respectively, for the House seats. Their Republican opponents, Beard with 2583 votes and Smith with 2590, trailed badly.¹⁴⁶

After taking their places in the House on Wednesday, December 6, 1889, both Cochran and Lightner voted for R.H. Cardwell of Hanover as speaker. On Friday A.B. was appointed to the following committees: Propositions and Grievances; Militia and Police; Asylums and Prisons; and Officers and Offices at the Capital. Introducing one bill to place more restrictions on prisoners, he added another to incorporate the Waynesboro and Basic City Street Railway Company. This second bill was referred to committee.

He voted against a bill prohibiting the unloading of ships on Sunday but voted for one which encouraged experimentation in breeding domestic animals. Voting for a committee to examine the State's excessive criminal expenses, he wanted the State to assist Augusta with road work. In favor of increasing the salary of an Augusta judge, he voted to incorporate the Augusta and Rockbridge

Railroad Company. On March 5, 1890, A.B. was one of six legislators appointed to a special committee to examine the oyster interests of the Commonwealth. During the session Cochran made motions, introduced bills and was openly more active than A.B., who worked on committees, never missed a roll call and generally voted with the majority.¹⁴⁷

While A.B. Lightner, the consummate politician, was serving as sheriff and legislator in the 1880s, he was also purchasing extensive, expensive, and attractive acreage west of Staunton along the Parkersburg Pike and in the West View area. This was Beverly Manor land, some of the best in Augusta County. In just about every year of the decade he acquired a piece of property. Financial terms for the purchased tracts generally consisted of a cash payment coupled with three year interest bearing notes.

On March 20, 1880, Robert G. and Mary J. Bickle, residents of Staunton, sold the John Keller- Siebert farm of 280 acres to A.B. for \$9000. Located on the southwest side of the Parkersburg

Pike five miles west of Staunton, the tract consisted of three parcels: the L. Siebert home of 84 3/4 acres; 15 3/4 acres of woodland lying about 3/4 mile northeast of the road; 180 acres, known as the Jack Keller tract. When the deed was registered on August 10, 1882, A.B. still owed Bickle \$5000 of which \$2000 was interest. Naturally Bickle, a friend who had acted before as his surety, retained a lien to secure the payment.¹⁴⁸

On May 1, 1882, prior to obtaining title to the Keller tract, A.B. agreed to purchase from Bickle 303 1/3 additional acres for \$9000. Known as the Eidson farm, it was situated on the north side of the Parkersburg Pike across the road from the Sheriff's previous purchase. On May 1, 1885, Bickle executed a deed to A.B. but reserved a vendor's lien to this land. A.B. paid \$4500 and then issued three \$1500 bonds due in four, five and six years with interest. For \$18,000 A.B. had purchased for \$15.43 an acre 583 1/3 acres of prime land on both sides of the Pike.¹⁴⁹

Shortly after closing with Bickle, the Sheriff, on October 9, 1882, bought for \$4480 from Mrs. Eliza Bell and W. T. Bell two parcels, one of 180 acres and the second of 44 acres. The land was part of the Eidson farm, which joined the Bickle tracts.¹⁵⁰ As the transaction was for cash, the deed was registered immediately. A.B. now owned 807 contiguous acres west of Staunton. The buying continued. On June 26, 1882, A.B. purchased the 196 acre Thomas Keller tract on Whisky Creek near his Buffalo Gap property, as part of an estate settlement. Payment was completed on July 18, 1885, when the deed was registered.¹⁵¹

On March 7, 1883, A.B., desiring more acreage near the Bickle and Eidson land already in his possession, purchased for \$3000 the buildings and 5421 acres of land adjoining the village of West View. He paid \$1000 down, \$1000 in 1884, and the last \$1000 in 1885.¹⁵² Named "West View", it was here that he died. In three years A.B. acquired 1057 1/2 acres, not including the land on Whisky Creek, for \$21,880.

Back on October 23, 1876, A.B. agreed to buy the 100 acre Fritz Friedly tract near Pond Gap for \$120. The land was not conveyed until March 18, 1890, "when the purchase money was paid in full by being credited to A.B. Lightner's debt." With this purchase and the 42 acre parcel bought in 1857, A.B. anticipated the future demand in lumber and bark, which by 1891 was "cutting paths through the timber lands of Augusta."¹⁵³

As a civic duty and to show his interest in education, A.B., on February 18, 1885, donated an acre of land from the Wayland tract on the main road from Summerdean to Swoope's Depot to the Trustees of the Public Schools of Beverly Manor.¹⁵⁴ Then for whatever reason, in 1886, A.B. sold to M. D. Eutzler and M. S. Bishop 158 1/2 acres for \$3081.25. This parcel was a part of the 224 acres, purchased from the Bells in 1883. A year later A.B. and S. D. Timberlake bought 169 1/2 acres for \$2907.27 in the same area. Following litigation an agreement was reached between the partners, whereby A.B. received 95 acres on the north side of the Pike near the land he had earlier sold to Eutzler and Bishop.¹⁵⁵

In 1891 A.B. owned 1849 1/3 acres of prime Augusta land. Some of this property, of course, was mortgaged. But with only the farm income, his salary as sheriff and then as legislator, his take from the administrator of estates, and interest earned on money loaned to others, the acquisition of so much expensive property in such a short time, was truly an extraordinary achievement. While A.B.'s income from the distillery is unverifiable, some revenue from that lease may have been used in his systematic purchases.

Meanwhile, A.B. and the farmers lost interest in the Grange, which by 1880 had just about ceased to exist. Looking for a stronger organization to help rectify their grievances, A.B. and former Grange members became involved in the Farmers' Alliance. Not only did A.B. become a member but also he played a prominent role in its organization and spread especially in western Virginia. Indeed, one of A.B.'s real legacies was making the farmer conscious of the part he must play in the improvement of his own economic and social position. Insisting that the Alliance was non-political, the farmers flocked to join hoping that it would improve their lot. A.B. presided at some meetings and introduced several of the Alliance's national speakers. Generally believing in the inflation of currency, curbing the power of monopolies, and reducing freight rates, the Augusta movement called also for better roads and schools. Not only did the chapters endorse a road tax but also they aimed to abolish the custom which required Augustans to work on roads. Calling for action by the General Assembly for good roads, the *Spectator* wrote that "Farmers lose more money every year by bad roads than by any failure of crops."¹⁵⁶

In the forefront of the movement for better roads, A.B. was aware that marketing the product was an important ingredient to success. Augusta railroads were excellent but shipping costs were out of reason. On the other hand, with the exception of the Valley Turnpike, road conditions were abysmal. Most were seas of mud in the spring. To move produce to market was next to impossible. Feeling that railroad interests obstructed road building, farmers lobbied the General Assembly and called for better roads in public meetings. State help was not forthcoming, despite John Echols' efforts in sponsoring a bill enabling the supervisors to borrow \$100,000 for macadamization. In 1882 the General Assembly did authorize a road tax. The act, which was submitted to the people, passed only in the Churchville precinct, no doubt due to A.B.'s influence. In July 1891 the supervisors appropriated \$6,000 to macadamize the Middlebrook and Brownsburg Road. Although A.B. worked diligently to improve Augusta roads that was to come later.¹⁵⁷

A.B. had little part in the growth of Augusta railroads. In 1871 the people voted against raising money for a valley railroad, although Pastures did vote for subscription. This, was probably due to Lightner's influence. Even though linked

to large markets, Augusta farmers lashed out at the railroad owners as "alien interests" and asked for rate regulation. In 1890 Lightner may have been instrumental in advocating the construction of a spur which connected the B & O and C & O lines. Starting at Witz and Holt's flower mill on Lewis Creek, the line served the mill and the Alliance Fertilizer factory, which began its operations around 1890.

Doubtless the leader in this cooperative enterprise was A.B., who helped to secure financial support from Alliance members and opened the factory for business. Its success probably depended on Lightner's administrative ability, as well as the farmers, who spent a great deal on fertilizer. The cooperative was brilliantly conceived, although the farmers' clubs for years bought fertilizer and hired threshing crews at lower rates than individuals. The factory saved money for the farmer and made money for the investors.¹⁵⁸

Despite some weak local economies and the farmers' problems, the people of Augusta were preparing for the decade of the 1890s which many thought would bring a golden age to the county. Real estate speculation was rife as farmers divided their acreage. A.B. had placed himself in an enviable position with property on the Pike and the route to the west.

With good prospects for the Democratic nomination for another term, A.B. seemed destined for greater triumphs. But in the summer of 1891 he was stricken with typhoid fever and died at West View on September 6, 1891. Funeral services were held at his residence with the Reverend J.E. Booker of the Hebron Presbyterian Church conducting the services. Internment took place at Staunton's Thornrose Cemetery. The pallbearers were Major T.C. Elder, Captain E.A. Fulcher, Captain James Bumgardner, Captain J.N. McFarland, Judge J.L.S. Kirby, Dr. N. Wayt, Messrs. Joseph A. Waddell, George M. Bear, John Christian, and W.W. Newman.

Commenting on his death, the Spectator of September 9, 1891 said "He had been for many years a prominent man in this county and held official positions those of constable, deputy sheriff, sheriff, Justice of the Peace and for three terms a member of the House of Delegates. He was an active, shrewd and energetic business man and accumulated considerable property". The Vindicator of September 11, 1891, wrote of his legislative career and character, "he was a model representative, always at his post, and by his strong common sense making his influence felt. He was placed on many important committees and not long before his death he had served as a member of a committee appointed to serve during the recess. He was a good neighbor and a kind hearted man and a husband and father without reproach."¹⁵⁹

Settling the estate proved to be an extremely complicated matter for the court appointed administrator, T. R. N. Speck, primarily because there was no will. On October 13, 1891, the court appraisers of the personal estate, William A. Burnett, John McFarland, E. M. Cushing and W. B. McChesney, submitted their appraisal on the articles shown to them by Speck. In addition to \$810.98 in cash in the Augusta National and the National Valley Banks, a \$3000 insurance policy, stock in the Virginia Land and Loan Company, some \$538.00 of cattle, including horses, cows and a wagon, approximately 80 people of Augusta owed A.B. \$16,636. According to the appraisers a considerable part of this money was listed as "doubtful" and thus could not be collected. The household and kitchen furni-

ture, some of which belonged to the widow, were claimed and turned over to her with "the consent of her children."¹⁶⁰

Of those owing the estate money, J. T. Lightner, one of A.B.'s sons, was in debt for \$1000, John Christian \$781.17, George Peters \$630.91, John Geary \$850, S. D. Timberlake \$848.07, C. R. McGuffin \$1583.33 and an unidentified company \$1333.33, to name several of the largest debtors. Timberlake paid off his account to the administrator in April 1898.¹⁶¹

With children from two marriages and no will, a fight was inevitable. William T., son of A.B.'s first wife, brought suit against A. B. Lightner's Administrator et al in 1891. In the property settlement of that case, the widow, Sarah Ellen, was assigned West View, while two of her sons, Charles A. and John A. Lightner, step brothers of William T., received respectively the Bickle Farm and the Buffalo Gap farm, the bulk of A.B.'s estate.¹⁶² Not only was the estate fought over for years, but even in 1998 money remains in the State's unclaimed property office.

Before reaching the pinnacle of power, Alexander B. Lightner died. A winner in life, this gentleman of class and charm was a leader of men and a champion of the farmers. He tried always to advance their cause and to work out their problems some of which were brought on by the society in which they lived. An uncompromising person of principle, he struggled during his life to uphold the law, and to dispense justice evenly, fairly and firmly. A slaveholder, he was in the forefront of those after the war who gave assistance and advice, as well as the vote, to the blacks. A "middling" land holder he was fair in his financial transactions and willing to help neighbors and friends. Reluctant to call in loans or to ask for payment, A.B.'s "friends" defaulted for one reason or another.

A home front provider during the war, he took clothing to soldiers in the field and readily assisted their families by collecting and distributing much needed supplies. A kind, caring man of honesty and integrity, A.B. worked hard to bring to Augusta progressive ideas in agriculture. Envisioning what lay ahead, he was watchful of Augusta and its people. Loving politics as he did took time away from his own interest in animal husbandry and diversification of crops. A believer in internal improvements so farmers might quickly and easily send their produce to markets, A.B. worked tirelessly with limited success along those lines.

A tailor turned politician, constable, sheriff, legislator, and businessman, A.B. was also a gentleman farmer who loved his green fields and hardwood forests that stretched from West View to Buffalo Gap and from Swoope to Churchville. Of Germanic descent, this stern but warm individual was a man of will and reason. Loving the principles upon which his country was founded, he gave of him-

Endnotes

1 By July 10, 1709, Johan Adam Leitner, his wife and two children boarded a ship in Rotterdam for the cross channel trip to London. Recruited from the Palatinate, the family was one of the "Fifth Party of Palatines" to make the crossing. While in London the Leitners learned they would be indentured servants of the British and that they would work with naval stores in the colonies. Sometime during the summer of 1710 Johan Adam Leitner and his family landed in New York. Probably a Lutheran and a blacksmith, Johan and his wife had three sons, John, Wilhelm (I) and Nathaniel. Johan may have moved from New York to Tulpehocken around 1728-1735.

Johan's son Wilhelm (I) had arrived in Tulpehocken by 1735 for his name is included as a member of the Lutheran congregation there. Wilhelm (I) married a Maria Barbara (last name unknown) and their union produced nine living children, one of whom was William (II) baptized in Tulpehocken's Christ Lutheran Church on February 19, 1749. Tax records indicate that Wilhelm

Leitner, Sr. (I) was a resident of Tulpehocken Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania in 1767-68. A blacksmith by trade he was taxed in both years on 100 acres of land, two cattle and two horses. Wilhelm (I) died intestate by March 28, 1770, and his eldest son Peter Leitner became the estate's administrator and named William (II) as a brother.

Around 1768 William Leitner (II) married a Maria Elizabeth Robey and on December 14, 1769, their first child, a son Peter, was born in Tulpehocken. Between 1769 and 1777 William (II) moved his family from Tulpehocken to Germany Township in York County, Pa. Voluntarily signing the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity between June 13, 1777, and July 25, 1778, William (II)'s name appeared on the rolls of the 7th Battalion, York County Militia. This unit guarded prisoners at Camp Security located a few miles east of the town of York. From 1779 to 1783 William (II) was taxed as a resident of Germany Township, York County. He owned no property and his trade was that of a "jobber". In 1783 his family consisted of five individuals, including himself. Between 1786-88 William Leitner/Lightner (II) departed York for what was to become Bath County, Va. William (II) had sons Peter, Andrew, Adam, William (III), John, Christian, Samuel, Christopher and daughters, Mary, and Elizabeth. William (II) married a second wife, Catherine Sharat, and continued to farm on a tract of land he purchased from son Peter in 1808 and sold to Adam in 1815. William (II) died sometime in the decade of the 1830s.

Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Baltimore, 1979), 2-195, 267, 283-301; B. M. Harleian MSS 7021, 280; Berkley Castle, *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. 5, 166,551; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1850); Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1230-1; Daniel Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names*, (Baltimore, 1865), 467; William Lightner MMS in possession of Homer Bast, Salem, Va.; Berks County, Pa., Letters of Administration, March 26, 1770; Records of the Christ Lutheran Church, Tulpehocken, Pa.; Records of the Trinity Reformed Church, Tulpehocken, Pa.; Militia Records, York County, Pa.; Pochohantas County, Va., Census of 1850; William Henry Egle, Editor, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, (Harrisburg, Pa. 1897), Vol. # XVIII, 76; vol. # XXI, 105, 308, 453, 559, 726; Will of Peter Leitner of Heidelberg Township Dauphin County, Pa.; George W. Cleek, *Early Western Augusta Pioneers*, (Staunton, Va., 1957), 173-7; Lightner Family Bible Records, 1760-1937 from a copy in Richmond.

2 Staunton *Vindicator*, January 13, 1855, September 11, 1891; Hereafter referred to as *Vindicator*; Augusta County, Census Reports, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860 and 1870; Augusta County Will Book #34, 294, Will of Samuel Lightner, Sr., July 25, 1854; Hereafter referred to as WILLS; Augusta County Deed Book #40, 260, September 12, 1815; #77, 582. Hereafter referred to as DEEDs. Both the Deed and Will books may be found in the Augusta County courthouse in Staunton.

One of the sons of William Lightner (II) and Sally Robey of Bath County, Va. was Samuel Lightner. He was born on June 23, 1787, probably in Germany Township, York County, although in 1850 the census listed his birthplace as Virginia. Samuel was apprenticed to a blacksmith probably in Augusta around 1801. On August 10, 1807, at the Staunton courthouse he and his father signed a marriage contract whereby Samuel agreed to wed Elizabeth Sensabaugh, the daughter of John Sensabaugh of Augusta. On September 12, 1815, Samuel purchased an eight acre farm from Peter and Cristina Gabbert for \$450. His property was located on Christian's Creek near Greenville. Living with him in 1830 were seven males and three females. Samuel's second real estate venture occurred on July 25, 1834, when he bought from Ballard and Dolly Smith for \$300 a lot and dwelling on the north side of Greenville's main street. On May 5, 1837, John Thompson, a neighbor, sold Samuel the buildings and four acres of land joining his original Christian Creek purchase. On November 1, 1851, Samuel acquired eight more acres next to the home place. Even though he farmed, Samuel pursued his blacksmith's trade until he died. The Lightners had nine living children, seven sons, William (IV), John, Jacob, James, Samuel, Jr., Thomas, Alexander, and two daughters, Eliza and Sarah.

Dorothy Weaver, transcriber, *Augusta County 1850 Census*, (Athens, Georgia), 366; Margaret C. Reese, compiler, *Abstract of Augusta County, Virginia Death Registers, 1853-1896*, 69; DEEDs #71,310-1, November 1, 1851; Marriage Bond of Samuel Lightner and William Lightner (II), August 10, 1807; WILLS #35, 241, August 25, 1856; WILLS #37, 411, March 6, 1860; DEEDs #58, 214-5, May 5, 1837; DEEDs # 52, 264-5, July 25, 1834; DEEDs # 63, 116-7, June 13, 1842.

3 *Vindicator*, September 11, 1891; Augusta County, Census Reports, 1840, 1850; DEEDs #76, 582-3, Thomas A. Lightner and Alex B. Lightner, Adms., to Abraham Brubeck, July 25, 1856.

4 Records do not indicate how Alexander Brownlee Lightner was addressed, although his father's will referred to him as Alexander. From the deeds and the newspaper accounts, he was more often designated as A.B. or Alexander. Later in life he was called Alex.

5 *Vindicator*, September 11, 1891; Augusta County, Census Reports, 1840, 1850. Augustus W. Graves and Porterfield Graves are named in the 1850 census as tailors. The former was listed as

44 years old, the latter as 15. Augustus is referred to as a female. Certainly the census report should be questioned on the ground that Augustus was not a female's name. Augustus is doubtless the tailor to whom A.B. was apprenticed.

6 Richard K. MacMaster, *Augusta County History, 1865-1950*, (Staunton, VA, 1987), 129-30; Augusta County, Census of 1850.

7 Marriage Bond, Alexander B. Lightner and Samuel Lightner, November 13, 1844, the Augusta County Courthouse; John Vogt and T. William Kathley, Jr., *Augusta County Marriages, 1748-1850*, (Athens, Georgia), 132. The bride's father, John Gardner, probably the son of Samuel Gardner, was born in 1792 in Augusta. John was a man of property for he listed himself as a landlord in 1850. Gardner's wife Susan, whose maiden name is unknown, was born in North Carolina about 1792 while their daughter Sarah was born about 1830. John died in 1860.

8 Voght and Kathley, *Augusta County Marriages*, 132.

9 Tombstone, Greenhill Cemetery, Churchville, Augusta County, VA; Augusta County, Census Reports, 1850, 1860, 1870.

10 DEEDs #67, 185, Peter Rouzer to John Gardner and A.B. Lightner, May 15, 1847. This was lot # 42 in Middlebrook.

11 Tombstone, Bethel Presbyterian Church, Hebron, VA; Staunton *Spectator*, October 20, 1847. Hereafter this newspaper will be referred to as *Spectator*. The obituary which appeared in that paper on Wednesday said: "She was universally beloved, and deservedly, for she was a lovely woman. But the chief excellence of her character was her piety. She had been a member of the Presbyterian Church for 15 years; but her piety was most manifest during her protracted illness, in that meekness and patience with which she endured extreme suffering; that deliverance from the fear of death and that sweet peace and blessed Hope, and strong faith in Christ which sustained her and rejoiced the hearts of her friends."

12 Augusta County, Census Reports, 1850, 1860.

13 Augusta County, Marriages, 1813-1850; Marriage Bond of Alexander B. Lightner of July 16, 1849; Augusta County, Census Report, 1850. Albert Wayland's first wife and the mother of Sarah Wayland died prior to 1850. By 1850 Albert, who was born in 1806, had married Susan Moffett, a young girl of 18. In 1850 Wayland's property was valued at \$4000. Living with him were two boys, the six year old William and Edward, the one year old baby and Susan.

14 Augusta County, Census Reports of 1850, 1860, 1870; *Spectator*, September 9, 1891; George W. Cleek, *Early Western Augusta Pioneers* (Staunton, Va., 1957), 176-200; Charles Alexander Lightner, Jr., married Mollie Hanger and had Ivan, Emmett, Harry B. and Lillian. By 1880 Charles A. resided on his father's 300 acre farm, valued at \$8000 in Beverly Manor. This was the Bickle property that A.B. purchased and allowed his son to farm. An obituary of A.B.'s indicated that he was "a kind and indulgent father."

15 Cleek, *Early Western Augusta Pioneers*, 176-200. Florence married a Milton Bueher and lived near Churchville.

16 Ibid. 190-200; *Vindicator*, April 26, 1861. George S. Lightner was married twice. Living in Staunton in 1891, he was a Methodist minister, who died in 1933. Ella Virginia Lightner married a David B. O'Rourke on November 3, 1874. In 1891, she lived in Staunton. John A. Lightner married a Mary Virginia Dinkle and had four sons and a daughter. Two boys died young. Robert Archibald Lightner (1885-1939) married Ednora Hamilton Lightner McNeill (1892-1969). John A. Lightner received the Buffalo Gap farm from the Court, while James Shields Lightner, A.B.'s youngest son, married Lelia Clay Hayden. James and Lelia died in 1896. An infant son of A.B.'s and Sarah's, Clarence D. eight months old, died on April 7, 1861, near West View.

17 *Vindicator*, January 13, 1855; Reese, compiler, *Abstract of Augusta County, Virginia Death Registers, 1853-1896*; The actual Register of Deaths may be found in the Augusta County courthouse, Vol.1, 438; Tombstones, Bethel Presbyterian Church, Hebron; DEEDs, #76, 582, Thomas A. and Alexander B. Lightner to Abraham Brubeck, July 25, 1856.

18 WILLS # 34, 294, Samuel Lightner, Sr., July 25, 1854; WILLS # 35, 241-2; WILLS # 37, 411, Samuel's will was probated on January 23, 1855.

19 WILLS # 35, 241-2, # 37, 411. These documents contain the accounting of the estate by the Lightner brothers. Born January 10, 1822, Thomas A. Lightner, son of Samuel, Sr., married Elizabeth Brubeck, (1836-1896) daughter of Abraham and Julia Ann Brubeck. A small landholder in 1860 and an owner of seven slaves Thomas, during the Civil War, served in Company H, 52nd Virginia Infantry. Thomas died December 27, 1897.

20 DEEDs #76, 582, Thomas A. and Alexander B. Lightner, administrators of the estate of Samuel Lightner, Sr., deceased, to Abraham Brubeck, July 25, 1856. This property was the home farm of Samuel Lightner, Sr. The Brubecks sold the land to Thomas A. Lightner on November 24,

1857, for the price they paid. DEEDs # 77, 485, Abraham and Julia Ann Brubeck to Thomas A. Lightner, November 24, 1857.

21 Samuel owned nine slaves and wrote in his will "if the negroes cannot be controlled by her (his wife, Elizabeth) or if they are too many for the farm work and the smith shop then they should be hired out." WILLS, #34, 294, Will of Samuel Lightner, Sr., July 25, 1854. No mention is made in the administrative accounts of the slaves' value nor of their disposition. Of course Samuel does state in his will that daughter Eliza Hawpe was to have Dorcas and her children, Jim and Siny. Thomas received Suckey, Judy, John and Henry. Joseph and Sally were to go to Thomas or A.B. or, if the slaves wished, they might select a master and be sold. On December 22, 1862, Augusta County was ordered to send 250 slaves to Richmond to work on city fortifications. In complying with the proclamation, the commissioners requested that Samuel Lightner, Sr.'s administrators provide one slave as part of Augusta's quota. Henry, valued at \$1600, was designated as the one to fill the request. Augusta County Order Book, vol. 59, 14. Hereafter the Order Books are referred to as ACOB; WILLS # 34, 294, Will of Samuel Lightner, Sr., July 25, 1854.

22 *Spectator*, May 26, 1857. In announcing his candidacy for election as constable on April 28, 1858, the paper said "re-election" which meant that A.B. was elected first in 1856. Jack P. Maddex, Jr., *The Virginia Conservatives, 1867-1879*, (Chapel Hill, 1970).

23 Augusta County, 1860 Slave Owners Census.

24 *Spectator*, May 6, 1857, May 26, 1858, June 1, 1858. Those on the Middlebrook Vigilance Committee, in addition to Alexander Lightner, were: Major W.S. Sproul, James R. Grove, B.F. Hailman, Captain James McKamey, A. A. McPheters, William Kerr, William Steel, McPheters McCutchan, Dr. John McChesney, M.W.D. Hogshead, Samuel X. Kerr, B. McNutt, John Echard, William Smiley, Addison McCutchen and Preston Hogshead.

25 *Spectator*, May 6, 1857, April 28, 1858, May 26, 1858, June 1, 1858; ACOB # 57, 124, June 20, 1858. These constables were elected in Augusta County: 1st District, Thomas Marshall; 2nd District, E. M. Cushing; Greenville District, John J. Larew; Waynesboro District, A. N. Dalhouse; Hew Hope District, John H. Batis; Mt. Solon District, Joseph F. Hottel; Churchville District, William W. Newman; Mt. Sidney District, Charles K. Hyde and of course A.B. from Middlebrook. Thomas M. Donoho and John G. Stover were elected commissioners of the revenue in the first and second districts.

26 ACOB, #57, 323, March 5, 1859; *ibid.*, # 59, 31, August 25, 1862; *ibid.*, #59, 97, December 22, 1862; *ibid.*, # 59, 283 December 19, 1863; *Spectator*, March 15, 1859.

27 *Spectator*, April 12, 1859. The Augusta Central Committee of the Whigs and Americans was composed of Robert L. Doyle, L. Waddell, Jr., James Coohran, J. Marshall Hanger and Powell Harrison. The Middlebrook Committee was made up of James E. Beard, M.W.D. Hogshead, A.R. McChesney, Adam Rasinsel, Arch. A. Sproul, Jacob Bowman, Jr., James R. Grove, Joseph Fix, George Miller, Addison McCutchen, George Cochran, John Wae, Robert Dunlap, William R. Dunlap, John McCurdy, Jacob Grim, B. F. Hailman, Washington Hess, Samuel B. Bowers, Alex B. Lightner, P. B. Hogshead, William Hall, Henry Ott, James C. McChesney, James H. Callison, Dr. O. Hanger, Lewis Wiseman, A. L. Craig, Henry Dull.

28 Augusta County, Census of 1860; Augusta County, 1860, Slave Owner Census; Augusta County, Agricultural Census, 1860; Maddex, *The Virginia Conservatives*; DEEDs, # 78, 509-510, William Hall to A.B. Lightner, April 21, 1858, June 1859; DEEDs # 81, 256-258, Alexander B. Lightner, trustee to Rudolph Turk, August 1, 1865. Most of A.B.'s acreage was located in the 1st District probably near brothers Samuel, Thomas, and Jacob. Lightner did own 42 acres in the western part of Augusta, six acres on the Pike and the Middlebrook property.

29 *Spectator*, May 1860.

30 *Vindicator*, February 8, 1861; ACOB # 58, 286, December 24, 1860.

31 Michael David Lesperance, "Fighting for the Union: The Political Culture of Anti-Sectionalism in Augusta County, Virginia, 1850-1861," *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, Vol. 30, Number 2, Staunton, Va., 14-20; *Spectator*, November 6, 1860.

32 *Vindicator*, May 25, 1860, February 8, 1861; Lesperance, "Fighting for the Union", 19-26; Nancy L. Sorrells, "Bethel Church and the Civil War", *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, Vol. 32, Number 2, 1-6.

33 Augusta County, Census of 1850; *Spectator*, May 26, June 1, 1858. Turk lived near Lightner in Middlebrook. Doubtless A.B. was influenced by this important and talented neighbor, who joined the young tailor in real estate deals. Relations between the two were quite close until the war, when Turk became a major in a volunteer regiments and entered service. In 1850 Turk was constable of Middlebrook. Thirty-three years old, he owned property valued at \$2300 and had living with him, Anne E., two young sons James A. and Rudolph S. and a 15 year old boy, Robert P.

Eubank. Rudolph S. became interested in politics and was rather successful.

34 DEEDs, # 75, 376, Washington Swoope, Executor of the Estate of Martha Ewing, to A.B. Lightner and Rudolph Turk, September 15, 1856. DEEDs, # 76, 351, Alexander B. and Sarah E. Lightner and Rudolph Turk to Barbara Armstrong and Mary E. Everett, September 26, 1856.

35 DEEDs, #76, 588-9, Lewis R. Boswell to Alexander B. Lightner and Rudolph Turk, February 24, 1857. DEEDs, # 78, 513, Alexander B. and Sarah E. Lightner and R. Turk to James Berry, June 27, 1859. DEEDs # 79, 183, Rudolph Turk and Alexander and Sarah E. Lightner to William Armstrong, December 2, 1859. Armstrong paid cash and then executed bonds to both Lightner and Turk.

36 DEEDs, #78, 509-10, William Hall to Alexander B. Lightner, April 21, 1858, June 30, 1858; *ibid.*, # 81, 256-8, Alexander B. Lightner, trustee and Rudolph Turk, August 1, 1865. DEEDs, #85, 74-5, James E. Carson to A.B. Lightner, Trustee, October 28, 1859; *ibid.*, # 78, 522, John Bosserman to A.B. Lightner, July 1, 1859.

37 DEEDs, # 78, 45, William and Elizabeth Ramsey to A. B. Lightner, June 7, 1858. DEEDs, # 84, 137, Benjamin and Jane Jacobs to James Grove and Alexander B. Lightner, September 2, 1857.

38 DEEDs, # 85, 528-9, Margaret Calhoon, William Waters and Hannah E. his wife, James William Calhoon and Amanda his wife, heirs at law of George A. Calhoon, dec. and Alexander B. Lightner to William Kenney, April 14, 1869. This was a small portion of a parcel of land conveyed to George Calhoon by Henry Eidson Jr. on October 10, 1850. The land, a part of a larger tract, was sold originally to Lightner by George A. Coihoon and then to Kenny. It is unlikely that A.B. settled on the Calhoon purchase not only because of its small acreage, but also the dwelling could not have accommodated Lightner's family. The more plausible explanation would be for A.B. to have lived on part of the William Hall trust, acreage which A.B. along with Turk held until August 1, 1865. Confusion exists because A.B.'s obituary speaks of moving first to the Eidson property after his departure from Middlebrook.

39 *Vindicator*, April 26, 1861, May 10, 1861; *Spectator*, April 23, May 21, 28, 1861; ACOR # 58, 365-6, May 5, 1861.

40 Marshall Moore Brice, "Augusta County During the Civil War", *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, Vol. 1, Number 2, 6-7; *Spectator*, May 26, 1858; Augusta County, Census of 1860.

41 ACOB # 58, 538, March 26, 1862; ACOB # 69, 300, January 26, 1864.

42 Brice, "Augusta County During the Civil War," 6-9; Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871*, (Harrisonburg, Va.).

43 *Spectator*, March 4, May 23, 1862; ACOB # 59, February 24, 1862;

44 ACOB # 59, 31, August 25, 1862.

45 *Ibid.*, # 59, 97, December 22, 1862.

46 *Ibid.*, # 59, 131-2, February 23, 1863.

47 *Ibid.*, # 59, 178, April 28, 1863; *Spectator*, May 12, 1863. As indicated Lightner ran for no office as he was heavily involved as a deputy sheriff. Others who supervised the elections in the precinct were: Jacob Baylor, Samuel H. Bell, James Gilkerson, John Wilson and John Christian.

48 ACOB # 59, 283, December 19, 1863.

49 Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*; *Spectator*, February 10, 1863; Brice, "Augusta County During the Civil War," 12-14.

50 ACOB # 59, 281, December 28, 1863.

51 *Ibid.*, # 59, 301, January 26, 1864. Other agents appointed in Augusta to carry out duties in their districts were: C.C. Francisco, Thornton Berry, District 1; John Trimble, District 2; John J. Larew and William T. Rush, Greenville; George A. Bruce and David S. Bell, Waynesboro; James N. Gentry and Joseph D. Craig, New Hope; William H. Gamble and Cyrus Brown, Mt. Sidney; John G. Fulton and John G. Rivercomb, Mt. Solon; William H. Bell and James J. Martin, Middlebrook.

52 *Ibid.*, # 59, 307, February 22, 1864; *Spectator*, February 2, March 1, 1864.

53 ACOR # 59, 282, January 25, 1864. The names on the inventory numbered 37 tithables and the sum in arrears amounted to \$167.05, a figure later downgraded.

54 ACOB # 59, 338-9, April 25, 1864; *Spectator* April 29, May 10, 17, 1864. The other overseers appointed for this precinct were: Harvey Baer, Ephraim Gooding, Dr. Joseph Wilson, Henry B. Seig and F.F. Sterrett.

55 *Ibid.*, May 31, 1864. In this election Samuel Paul defeated J.J. Larew, 844 to 612. Other county winners were: William A. Burnett, Clerk of the County Court; Joseph N. Ryan, Clerk of the Circuit Court; Robert L. Doyle, Commonwealth's Attorney; John G. Stover and Thomas M. Donoho, Commissioners of the Revenue; Archibald D. Trotter, County Surveyor.

56 ACOB # 59, 354, June 27, 1864.

57 *Ibid.*, # 59, 404, December 26, 1864.

58 *Ibid.*, # 59, 416, February 27, 1865

- 59 MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 26-27.
- 60 ACOB., #59, 429, April 24, 1865.
- 61 MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 27-28; Virginius Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*, (Garden City, N.Y., 1971), 360-371; *Spectator*, July 4, 1865. In addition to Stuart and Baldwin, Dr. F. T. Stribling and others called for the meeting. The delegation to Richmond included Stuart, Baldwin, Colonel Michael C. Harmer, Major William M. Tate and Hugh W. Sheffy. On the afternoon of the 8th the Confederate Governor William Smith, staying at the Virginia Hotel in Staunton, talked rather freely with the people. He announced that he had appointed a committee of two to go to Washington to find out whether the State government was to function. Smith departed Staunton during the night when he learned of the approach of Union troops.
- 62 MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 27.
- 63 *Spectator*, July 4, 1865.
- 64 *Ibid.*, July 11, 1865. Lightner was assisted by Dr. John Wilson, E. Geeding, H. B. Seig, F. F. Sterrett and Christian Bear.
- 65 *Vindicator*, July 14, 1865; *Spectator*, July 11, 1865; Dabney, *Virginia The New Dominion*, 360-371.
- 66 *Spectator*, July 21, 1865. William A. Burnett defeated James H. Skinner for County Clerk, 1843 to 374; Joseph N. Ryan swamped James A. Patterson for Circuit Clerk, 1886 to 68; Samuel Paul defeated John H. Batis for Sheriff, 1626 to 605. In an extremely close vote in a four man race for Commonwealth's Attorney James Bumgardner, Jr. won over H. M. Bell, G. W. Imboden, and Johnson; James M. Lilley beat James H. Callison 1603 to 438 for County Surveyor, Thomas Donoho and John G. Stover defeated four other candidates for Commissioner of Revenue in the first and second districts. In addition to Joseph A. Wilson in the Ninth District, the other Constables were: Thomas Marshall, William Crosby, A. Rusmisl, George M. Apple, William M. Bush, H. G. McCausland, Arthur Grooms, and E. J. Bell.
- 67 MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 27-8; Waddell, *Annals of Virginia*; Matthew Page Andrews, *Virginia, The Old Dominion*, (Richmond, 1949) 539-46.
- 68 ACOB #60, 4-8, August 4 and August 28, 1865.
- 69 ACOR # 60, 8, August 28, 1865.
- 70 ACOB., # 60, 26, September 25, 1865; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 32-34; J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County*, (Bridgewater, Va., 1953), 383; *Spectator*, July 4, 1865.
- 71 Hamilton J. Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia During the Reconstruction*, (Baltimore, 1904), 26-52. It cannot be said that the Vagrant Acts were particularly harmful to the black man's acceptance into the political stream of Augusta County. Indeed, the transition from slave to freedman took place with but little racial violence. Instances of abuse were rare. Augusta County magistrates gave free and impartial justice to them. However, the Provost Marshall himself continued to try cases with blacks winning in most. Some jobless freedmen drifted about the county but the Army generally rounded them up and encouraged them to find work. Many Augusta blacks remained on the farms where they had lived. Doubtless A.B.'s civil duties brought him into contact with the freedmen where his fair-mindedness and respect prevailed. As a farmer those same qualities were exercised. Even the Freedman's Bureau found little evidence of friction between the races, especially among those who tilled the soil. It is extremely doubtful that Congress had Augusta in mind when the Reconstruction Acts were passed. MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 28-35; Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*, 353-373; Andrews, *Virginia, The Old Dominion*, 526-546.
- 72 ACOR, # 60, 44, October 23, 1865; *ibid.*, # 60, 78, January 22, 1866.
- 73 *Spectator*, July 11, 14, 1865. ACOR., #60, 90, February 26, 1866; ACOB # 60, 127, May 28, 1866.
- 74 DEEDs # 91, 405, Robert Cochran to Alexander B. Lightner, January 19, 1877.
- 75 MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 33.
- 76 *Ibid.*; Nelson M. Blake, *William Mahone of Virginia*, (Richmond, 1935), 95-6; Allen W. Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism by Byrd*, 1870-1925 (Charlottesville, Va., 1968), 1-8; Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*, 353-373; Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 52.
- 77 ACOB # 60, 251, April 22, 1867.
- 78 Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 26-52; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 33; Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*, 353-373; Andrews, *Virginia, The Old Dominion*, 526-546.
- 79 McMaster, *Augusta County History*, 33.
- 80 Blake, *William Mahone*, 95-100; Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 166; Jack P. Maddex, Jr., *The Virginia Conservatives, 1867-1879*, 1-84.
- 81 *The General Assembly of Virginia, 1619-1978*; Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 26-52, 87-100.
- 82 ACOB #61, 131, May 25, 1868; Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 87-100.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 52-120; *Vindicator*, November 5, November 12, 1868; MacMaster, *Augusta County*

History, 34-5; Staunton Valley *Virginian*, October 31, 1867. This newspaper will be hereafter referred to as *Valley Virginian*.

84 Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 109-118; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 34-5; *Spectator*, January 5, February 9, June 1, 1869; *Vindicator*, January 8, January 15, January 29, April 16, 1869; Alexander F. Robertson, *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart* (Richmond, 1925), 260-281. The meeting was called by John Echols, Judge Sheffy, H.M. Bell, Thomas Michie, Nicholas Trout and probably others.

85 Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 87-100; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 34-5.

86 ACOB #61, 131, May 25, 1868: *ibid.*, # 61, 302, February 22, 1869.

87 ACOB #61, 311-12, March 22, March 26, March 29, 1869; *Spectator*, March 30, 1869; *Vindicator*, March 26, 1869.

88 ACOB #61, 317, April 26, 1869; *ibid.*, #62, 37, September 27, 1869. Other deputies appointed at this time were: Alexander Funk, John J. Logan, John R. Purty, Nicholas G. Gregory, John H. Crawford, John Ramsey, B. Trayer, John F. Hamblton, James M. Carter, James McFarland and Adam Rusmisl. By 1876 only three states, South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida were still under radical control. In each of these states two governments sprang up after November. Each claimed to be legitimate and thus there were disputed election returns. A final count would decide the winning candidate. Tilden, the Democrat, had 184 electoral votes, one less than a majority. If all 19 disputed votes went for Hayes, he would be the new President. An electoral commission by a strict party vote so decided. A final disruption was averted when the Republicans promised that federal troops would be withdrawn from the states.

89 *Vindicator*, July 9, 16, 1869; *Spectator*, June 29, July 6, July 13, 1869; Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia*, 102-125; Blake, *William Mahone*, 105.

90 *Spectator*, October 12, 1869; The General Assembly of Virginia, 1619-1978.

91 DEEDs, # 80, 426, A.B. and Sarah E. Lightner and R. Turk to Elijah Hogshead, March 7, 1862. *ibid.*, # 81, 256-258, A. B. Lightner, trustee, to Rudolph Turk, August 1, 1865; *ibid.*, #84, 137, James R. and Lucreta Grove and A.B. and Sarah E. Lightner to Hildebert N. Perry, October 15, 1868; *Spectator*, January 27, 1863. In the paper was a list of deeds deposited but not recognized because the State Tax had not been paid. Benjamin P. Jacobs and wife to James R. Grove and A.B. Lightner.

92 DEEDs #91, 405, James Cochran, Commissioner of the Circuit Court of Augusta County in the case of James A. Cochran's Executor, Cochran's widow and others and Robert Cochran to Alexander B. Lightner, January 19, 1877; Waddell, *Annals Of Augusta County*, 537. Possibly the great grandfather of A.B.'s first wife, Thomas Gardner lived here when killed in 1764.

93 Augusta County, Census of 1870; Agricultural Census, 1870.

94 Augusta County, Census of 1870.

95 Blake, *William Mahone*, 156-159; *Spectator*, October 31, 1871; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 55-7.

96 The Funding question was an important one. A number of authors discuss the role it played in the politics of the day. Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism by Byrd*, 1870-1925; Blake, *William Mahone of Virginia*; Robertson, *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart*; Maddex, *The Virginia Conservatives*; Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*; Andrews, *Virginia, The Old Dominion*; Charles C. Pearson, *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia* (New Haven, 1917). Passing the General Assembly in the 1870-71 session, the two acts, one providing for the sale to private interests of the State's pre-war investments in railroads and the second, the Funding Act covering the State debt. Interrelated, the legislation was passed by a combination of forces, including those with interests in one or both pieces of legislation. Provision for handling the State debt were changed with time.

97 In Augusta by 1870 Lightner and most farmers were aware that fewer acres of land were being cultivated, that there was a good market in corn and wheat but rail rates were too high, and that black labor was unreliable. Always, of course, weather was a problem and it so happened that Augusta endured three seasons of drought. Problems were local as well as state-wide.

98 *Spectator*, August 29, 1871, September 5, 1871. Unlike the other districts which named an alternate to the convention, Pastures selected only Alexander B. Lightner.

99 *Ibid.*, September 5, 26, 1871. Others from Augusta who attended the Conservative Party meeting were: Robert W. Burke, John B. Baldwin from Staunton; James Bumgardner, Jr., Beverly Manor; William Crawford, Middle River; F. D. Dellinger, South River; Alex Bumgardner, Riverheads; Chesley Kinney, North River.

100 *Ibid.*, October 17, 1871. During balloting for the House, 13 names were placed in nomination: C.S. Roller, R.W. Burke, John N. Opie, D.B. Hinton, Marshall Hangar, W.T. Rush, J.C. Cochran, J. N. Clark, William A. Abney, Dr. F.D. Dellinger, General M. Harrison, C. Benton Coiner and Lightner.

- 101 Ibid., October 31, 1871.
- 102 Ibid., October 31, 1871, December 14, 1871. The December issue carried the election results. In the Senate, Cochran received 2136 votes, while Fultz the Radical mustered just 1110. The six other candidates running for the three House seats were the Radicals, Wissler, Rippetoe, Kerlin, and the Independents, Dr. Thomas W. Shelton, Colonel F. F. Sterrett, and Robert S. Harnsberger. Of these six, Wissler had 1092 votes and Sterrett the least with 124. It was an easy win for the Conservatives. Sterrett stated that his name was on the Independent ticket without his consent. There was Conservative Party discussion over whether a state convention should have been held.
- 103 J. W. Williams, Compiler, Index to Enrolled Bills of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1910; Acts of the General Assembly Session, 1871-72, (Richmond, 1872); Journal of the House of Delegates, 1871-72, (Richmond, 1872).
- 104 Vindicator, October 3, 31, December 5, 12, 1873; MacMaster, Augusta County History, 55-7; The General Assembly of Virginia, 1619-1978.
- 105 Ibid.; Vindicator, October 8, November 5, 12, 1875; MacMaster, Augusta County History, 107-8.
- 106 Vindicator, May 25, 1876.
- 107 Ibid., July 28, 1876.
- 108 Ibid., August 25, 1876.
- 109 Spectator, July 31, 1877; Vindicator, July 27, 1877; MacMaster, Augusta County History, 55-7, 107-8.
- 110 Vindicator, July 27, 1887.
- 111 Ibid., August 3, 1877.
- 112 Ibid., July 27, October 3, October 10, 1877. The State debt continued to be a problem and an issue. It was exacerbated by the Panic of 1873. To meet its fiscal obligations, the General Assembly in 1873-4 found that the whiskey and tobacco dealers, as well as the railroads, paid inadequate taxes. The legislature, therefore, in 1876 passed a law which "fairly assessed railroad property and taxed liquor by the drink and the bottle." Even these sources did not provide enough revenue to close the gap and funding remained a hot issue.
- 113 ACOB #6, 301, June 24, 1877; Vindicator, October 10, 1877.
- 114 Ibid., October 17, 1877; MacMaster, Augusta County History, 56-7; Charles C. Pearson, *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia* (New Haven, Conn., 1917), 75-9.
- 115 Vindicator, October 19, 1877.
- 116 Ibid., November 9, 1877.
- 117 Spectator, February 20, April 10, 1866; Vindicator, February 20, 1874; MacMaster, Augusta County History, 100-102; In 1874 the Churchville club presided over by Henry B. Sieg petitioned the General Assembly for legislation to protect sheep from dogs. Modeling itself on Scotland's farmers' clubs, the Churchville club was formed in 1866 by John E. Hamilton, William M. Tate, Jacob Baylor, and A.B. Lightner, among others.
- 118 Spectator, May 12, 1874, September 9, 1891; Vindicator, September 11, 1891; MacMaster, Augusta County History, 56, 107.
- 119 Vindicator, September 11, 1891; Spectator, September 9, 1891; William DuBose Sheldon, *Populism in the Old Dominion*, (Princeton, 1935), 22-46.
- 120 ACOB # 65, 301, June 24, 1877. John Towberman had been a real force in Augusta. In 1864 he was appointed a deputy sheriff and then under the provisional government he was named by the military as "crier" of the County and expected to perform the functions of sheriff. By January 1866 Towberman had been appointed coroner and collector of the revenue. During these hectic months, Lightner was with Towberman every step of the way. Not only did A.B. stand as his friend's surety, but also Towberman, on his part, named Lightner deputy coroner on October 23, 1865, and deputy collector of the revenue on January 22, 1866. In the election of May 24, 1877, Towberman had no opposition for sheriff. Out of only 693 votes, he received 687. The *Valley Virginian* called the elections "the most unexciting ever known in the County." Few people were aware that an election was being held. Serving for only one month, on June 24, 1877, Towberman because of ill health failed to qualify for his office. ACOB # 59, 404, December 26, 1864; #60, 1-7, August 4, 1865; ACOB #60, 44, October 23, 1865; ACOB #60, 78, January 22, 1866; ACOB #60, February 26, 1866; ACOB #65, 301, June 24, 1877; *Valley Virginian*, May 31, 1877.
- 121 ACOB # 65, 301, June 24, 1877. As in England the local office of "High Sheriff" was held by the principal gentlemen of standing in the counties. Early in Virginia's history the governor made the appointment but by this time the sheriff had become an elective office. Lightner's sureties were: Milton P. Funhouser, John Christian, John Meyers, George Smith, Timoleon G. Trice, James A. McFarland, John Towberman, John Sanderson, William H. Gamble, C. Weston Burress and John D. Yonel.

- 122 ACOB #65, 304, June 27, 1877.
- 123 Spectator, September 3, October 8, 1878.
- 124 Ibid., May 13, 1879.
- 125 Ibid., May 27, 1879; Samuel Paul was elected Treasurer and James Bumgardner, Jr. won the most votes for Commonwealth's Attorney. George P. Lightner, son of Jacob Lightner, A.B.'s brother, from Riverheads was returned to his office as Commissioner of the Revenue.
- 126 DEEDs # 85, 436, The Deputy Collector of the U.S., Joseph F. Pusey to A.B. Lightner, who then leased the property to John E. Riley, August 1, 1870.
- 127 DEEDs # 87, 122-3, Article of Agreement between A.G. Wayland and A.B. Lightner, April 16, 1872; *ibid.*, # 87, 602, Albert G. and Lucy Wayland, with a general warranty of title, May 17, 1872. The deed was registered on April 25, 1873; Augusta County, Agricultural Census of 1870. On July 13, 1863, Wayland sold 26 acres, previously purchased from Michael Engleman, to Elizabeth Staunton, who then sold that land to Meredith Bailey. Even so, in 1870, Albert G. Wayland owned 181 acres on which were dwellings, and barns, the whole valued at \$7000. His implements amounted to \$350, his livestock \$950. His principal crops were wheat and corn, while the farm labor for the year amounted to \$660. Ten years later, in 1880, Wayland owned only 30 acres valued at \$2000. Of his total acreage on April 15, 1872, Wayland by deed conveyed 36 acres to his son, Eugene J. Wayland, even though the land was in trust. Eugene had acquired 171 acres valued at \$5998 by 1880. Much happened in those 10 years to A.G. Wayland.
- He bought 25 of his acres in the Summerdean area in 1858 from George Hoover and received 30 acres as a result of Lucy Moffott's inheritance. He sold 36 acres in 1863 but Wayland still owned 180 acres in 1860. During the war Wayland obtained a commission as a major and served probably until the war's conclusion. Sometime prior to December 14, 1871, he fell into financial difficulty for by that date he conveyed by deed to James Bumgardner, Jr. his farm for a bond of \$1300. Wayland was also indebted to James Cochran for \$1500. Now A.B. stepped in.
- 128 DEEDs # 95, 121, W.E. Craig, Commissioner of the Circuit Court, to Alexander B. Lightner, March 8, 1880. This was the date on which Lightner paid off his debt and the deed was entered; *ibid.*, # 95, 405, 441, William Patrick, Commissioner of the Circuit Court, in the case of Argenbright vs Bailey's Administrators et al and A.B. Lightner, March 22, 1880. Apparently the 36 acres belonged to Lightner, who agreed that a deed be conveyed to Lucy's brother. The land was doubtless that which was sold to Bailey in 1863 and bought by Lightner on March 22, 1880. *ibid.*, # ?, 230-1, James Bumgardner, Jr., Trustee and A.B. Lightner to E. J. Wayland, March 2, 1885.
- 129 Augusta County, Census of 1880; Augusta County, Agricultural Census of 1880.
- 130 Vindicator, May 28, June 3, 1881; Spectator, May 31, 1881. Other members of the Democratic County Committee were: James Bumgardner, Jr., James N. McFarland, John H. Crawford, A. H. Roller, David Bruin, William H. Gamble, A.A. Sproul, William F. Smith, J. A. Cochran, Robert W. Burke. Members making up the committee were somewhat different than those attending the state meeting. County delegates selected for the party convention in Richmond were James Bumgardner, Jr. and James N. McFarland of Beverly Manor, John H. Crawford and A. H. Roller of Middle River, David Bruin and William H. Gamble of North River, A. A. Sproul and William F. Smith of Riverheads, Absalom Koiner and T. A. Bruce of South River, J. A. Cochran, R. W. Burke, Dr. Carter Berkeley and A. F. Robertson from Staunton.
- 131 Vindicator, April 5, 1881; J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia*, (Bridgewater, 1953), 254; The General Assembly of Virginia, 1619-1978. In this election Lightner's son, William T. Lightner, was nominated for constable and ran unopposed in Pastures.
- 132 Vindicator, April 6, 1883. In the announcement for sheriff, A.B. pointed out that he was standing for re-election.
- 133 Vindicator, April 6, May 2, 1883; Spectator, April 17, May 29, 1883. A.B. garnered 289 votes and William T. Lightner received 293 votes out of 408 in Pastures, which consisted of five precincts, Deerfield, Craigsville, Lebanon Springs, Buffalo Gap, and Churchville. Later at the County Democratic convention Absalom Koiner, Edward Echols and John N. Opie were named as candidates for the General Assembly. All won in November, 1883.
- 134 Spectator, May 29, June 3, 1883; Vindicator, May 25, 1883.
- 135 Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*, 385-7.
- 136 Spectator, August 19, 1885.
- 137 Spectator, September 16, 1885.
- 138 Ibid, September 26, October 14, November 4, 1885; Vindicator, November 6, 1885; *The General Assembly of Virginia, 1619-1978*; Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*, 392-5.
- 139 Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1885-6, (Richmond, 1886); J. Wa Williams, compiler, Index to the Enrolled Bills of the General Assembly of

Virginia, 1776-1910, (Richmond, 1914); Acts of the General Assembly, 1885-6; Journal of the House of Delegates, 1885-6. Among several of the most important legislative acts passed during this session of the Assembly were: construction of bridges and working roads; establishment of agricultural fairs; submission of liquor licenses to localities; protection of oysters, fish and game; repair of the governor's mansion including installation of telephones and elevator; increase salaries of county judges; fixed terms of circuit courts; amended charters of towns and railroads; increased the school levy in some counties; provided for the incorporation of many companies; establishment of ferries; regulate the practice of surgery; employment of convict labor; compensation of public school teachers. Lightner was in favor of most of these acts.

140 Dabney, Virginia The New Dominion, 394-6.

141 *Spectator*, August 3, 1887. The other delegates from Augusta were: Edward Echols, J. A. Cochran, W. H. B. Lynn, Meade F. White, Samuel F. Pilson, J. A. Bumgardner, W. W. Sproul, James A. Patterson, Jr., Samuel M. Donald, John F. Leonard, N. C. Watts, A. H. Roller, Andrew Bolling, William H. Clare and W. L. Wilson. The County Democratic Committee was composed of: Arista Hoge, B. B. Eckridge, W. A. Hudson, Charles Grattan, Michael McAleer, Lewis Harman, Samuel F. Pilson, Thomas M. Smiley, J. A. Patterson, J. W. Churchman, J. H. Crawford, A. H. Roller, D. F. Hoover and W. C. Craig.

142 *Spectator*, August 3, 24, September 7, October 5, November 6, 1887. A. B. was a distant last in the North River precinct, some 102 votes behind Edward Echols. With the primary out of the way, the Democratic candidates focused on the important date in November when they had not only Republican candidates, Bailey Dunlap and Benjamin J. Craig, to beat, but also the Prohibition Party candidates, Marshall Fultz and Hugh F. Lyle. The specter of William Mahone still lingered and the *Spectator* warned that although many Republicans denounced Mahone's schemes they will support him in the end. Further the editor pointed out that Virginia has been so long under the methods of Mahone and so misrepresented in the U.S. Senate that "all Democrats should concentrate their forces to defeat the Mahone party which is especially trying to break the Democratic majority in Richmond." In the returns of November 1887 voting for the House, Edward Echols and John H. Crawford were the clear winners. Absalom Koiner was easily returned to the Senate.

143 Deeds # 114, 491-2, A. B. and Sarah Lightner to S. D. Timberlake, February 12, 1889; *Spectator*, August 14, 1889. The Augusta County Democratic Committee for 1889 was made up of: M. C. Brown, J. C. Westlock from Beverly Manor; M. T. McClure, T. M. Smiley, Riverheads; W. A. Abney, R. G. Wright, South River; Alber H. Roller, W. H. Moorman, Middle River; W. H. Gamble, J. H. Todd, North River; D. F. Hoover, W. C. Craig, Pastures; W. I. Oliver, W. G. Kinney, Ward 1, Staunton; W. H. H. Lynne, John N. Opie, Ward 2, Staunton.

144 *Spectator*, September 4, October 30, 1889. Opening speeches at the Staunton convention were made by General John Echols, Harry Tucker, Captain John N. Opie and George M. Harrison.

145 *Spectator*, October 30, 1889.

146 *Ibid.*, September 4, October 30, November 6, 13, 1889; Dabney, Virginia, *The New Dominion*, 396-9.

147 *Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session 1889-90*, (Richmond, 1890); Williams, Index to the Enrolled Bills; Acts of the General Assembly. The following acts were passed: issue charters and authorize towns to borrow money; increase salaries of some judges; increase in road levy; finance the public debt; regulate shooting of wild fowl; taxation of bank stocks; regulate child labor; provide for work on roads; regulate the sale and purity of fertilizer; relief of the sheriff in service of civil process; appoint a committee to study the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland; levy tax on liquor; require railroads to care for all products shipped by them; require fire escapes in buildings over three floors; permission to build bridges; and more.

148 DEEDs # 102, 195-7, Robert G. and Mary J. Bickle of Staunton to Alexander B. Lightner, August 10, 1882; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 28-74 and citations in ACOB and the Staunton newspapers, *Vindicator* and *Spectator* have to do with Bickle. The tract mentioned was bounded by land belonging to Zebulon Shafer, C. Koiner, William Kinney, Henry Eidson, Jr., R. P. Brown and Calhoun. Some \$ 2000 on this property was unpaid at Lightner's death. Robert G. Bickle was a long time friend of A. B. A resident of Staunton, Bickle was an attorney, a Staunton councilman, a commissioner of the County Court, an Overseer of the Poor. Mayor of Staunton and a merchant. Several times he acted as surety on behalf of Lightner. Shortly after the war Bickle presided at a meeting at the courthouse where those who attended thanked General Duval for keeping order and property. Within months Bickle had rented a brick building on New Street which he rented to the Freedman's Bureau. In 1870 he rented the now dubbed "Bickle's School House" to the Staunton school board. Taking an active part in the railroad question, Bickle and A. B. signed contracts for land along the Parkersburg Pike. Bickle's Staunton home in 1873 was valued at over

\$ 10,000. In 1870 he had been appointed to the board of the Southern Female Seminary.

149 DEEDs # 102, 382-4, Robert G. Bickle of Staunton to Alexander B. Lightner, May 1, 1885. Known as the Eidson farm, the tract joined the lands of David Baylor, John Thompson and A. B. The final payment was made by the administrator of the Lightner estate on January 13, 1900. The vendor's lien was removed.

150 DEEDs # 99, 462-3, Mrs. Eliza F. Bell and W. T. Bell to Alexander B. Lightner, October 9, 1882 and another deed from W. T. Bell to Alexander B. Lightner, October 9, 1882.

151 DEEDs # 102, 539-540, A. C. Gordan and John W. Stout, Commissioners in the case of Hacker and wife vs Keller et al, to Alexander B. Lightner, July 18, 1885. This land was devised in trust to Thomas Keller by his father George Keller. The land was purchased by George Keller from George Baylor on May 13, 1832. WILLS, #25, 418. Will of George Keller.

152 DEEDs # 102, 461, John T. Calhoun and his wife Jane C., to Alexander B. Lightner, March 7, 1883; *ibid.*, # 102, 266, John T. Calhoun to Alexander B. Lightner, March 19, 1885. John Calhoun's wife died on March 7, 1883. The loan was paid off, the vendor's lien was removed and Calhoun confirmed the title to Lightner.

153 DEEDs # 108, 586-7, George M. Harrison to A. B. Lightner, March 18, 1890; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 95-6

154 DEEDs # 102, 218, Alexander B. and Sarah Lightner and George and Margaret Sheets to the Trustees of the Public Schools of Beverly Manor Magisterial District, February 18, 1885.

155 DEEDs # 102, 266, A. B. and Sarah Lightner to M. D. Eutzler and M. S. Bishop, March 12, 1886; *Ibid.*, # 114, 491-2, A. B. and Sarah Lightner to S. D. Timberlake, February 12, 1889. The deal between Lightner and Eutzler and Bishop was a strange one and seems to have little reason behind it. A. B. had worked hard to consummate the purchase and then to sell a part of this valuable tract for slightly less than he paid for it per acre was not in keeping with Lightner's way of doing business. Of course the possibility exists that he needed the money to join with Timberlake in their purchase.

156 *Vindicator*, January 23, March 6, 27, July 17, 24, September 11, October 23, 1891; *ibid.*, April 22, August 19, November 22, 1892; *Spectator*, September 9, 1891. For more information on the Grange and Alliance see Robert C. McMath, Jr., *Populist Vanguard: A History of the Southern Farmers' Alliance* (Chapel Hill, 1975); Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement* (Lincoln, Neb., 1963); D. Sven Nordin, *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867-1900* (Jackson, Miss., 1974)

157 *Spectator*, December 25, 1889, September 9, 1891; *Vindicator*, September 11, 1891; MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 63-8, 108-9; *Valley Virginian*, February 2, March 2, 23, May 18, 1882.

158 MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 63-68, 79, 108-9. *Valley Virginian*, August 29, September 5, 1866; *Vindicator*, February 21, 28, May 9, 1873; *ibid.*, April 24, September 18, 1874. The Alliance merged with the Farmer's Assembly founded in 1885 in Richmond. Trying to represent with one voice the farm groups, the Assembly held that government should take action.

159 *Vindicator*, September 11, 1891; *Spectator*, September 9, 1891.

160 WILLS # 53, 440, 444, October 29, 1891.

161 *Ibid.*; DEEDs # 114, 491-2, 5. D. Timberlake to Administrators of the A. B. Lightner Estate, April 1, 1898.

162 WILLS #53, 440, 444, February 6, 1892, October 29, 1891. Even before A. B. died, he and 14 other Augustans were negotiating with Robert W. Burke and M. N. Bradley for the sale of three contiguous parcels of land next to the C and O R.R. some one and one quarter miles west of Staunton. Three tracts were involved. One parcel, known as the "Dwelling House" tract, contained four acres. The second, a one acre parcel, known as the "Distillery Tract", was owned by A. B. in 1870. The third parcel consisted of more than two acres and was called the "Meadow Lot." The three parcels were bought by Burke and Bradley on April 15, 1881. The 15 Augusta County gentlemen, and in some instances their trustees, purchased the property for \$3500 on October 14, 1892. The names on this deed were the following: Jacob H. Shaner, Edwin A. Fulcher, J. Newton Wilson, Samuel A. East, J. Frank Hanger, T. R. N. Speck, trustee for A. B. Lightner, John H. Connell, John D. Sterrett, Joseph Houseman, G. W. Koiner, C. J. Coiner, H. J. Williams, John H. Bouman, Charles A. Lightner and William P. Mash. DEEDs # 118, 81-2, October 14, 1892.

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